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**MONEY MAGAZINE**  
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Money Magazine  
**TODAY**

## Two soldiers killed in security zone attack

TWO IDF soldiers were killed and an officer was wounded in southern Lebanon on the first day of the New Year Monday, while yesterday artillery duels raged in the western sector of the security zone.

On Monday, Nahal Sgt. Aviv Mor, 20, of Haifa and radioman Pvt. Uri David, 19, of Bat Yam were killed when fierce mortar fire struck their outpost near the village of Blatt, in the western sector of the zone.

The 20-minute mortar attack on the outpost began at approximately 4:50 p.m. and, according to a Northern Command source, included about a dozen 120mm

shells, some of which scored direct hits. In addition to the two dead, Sec.-Lt. Shalev Davran sustained light shrapnel wounds in his hands. He was listed in good condition at Nahariya Government Hospital.

The source said the outpost, at Karkom, had been on heightened alert with most soldiers already in combat positions, as Hizbullah attacks were expected on the eve of the holiday - although attacks in that area are rare.

"But there is nothing you can do against direct hits," the source said. "It's tragic to say, but it is a statistical fact that some will hit you directly while most mortar

shells won't. The two soldiers who were killed were on their way to man combat positions from which they could fire back."

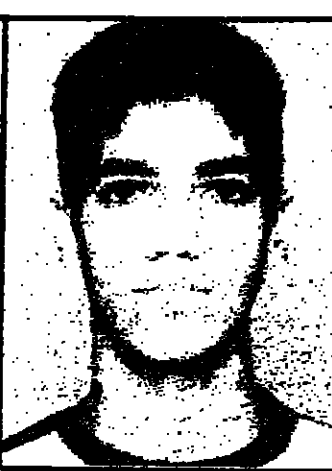
However, the IDF outposts in the western sector of the zone are not as strongly fortified as those in the eastern and central sectors. Last year the IDF made a big effort to fortify positions and make them impenetrable to artillery and mortar shells. Work began in the eastern and central sectors because these are most exposed to artillery attacks.

The IDF and the South Lebanese Army retaliated with heavy

tank and artillery fire at Hizbullah targets in the western and central sectors of the zone near Shomriyot and Bint Jbeil, and heavy artillery fire raged throughout the day.

In another incident, an SLA officer was seriously wounded when a roadside bomb was detonated as his patrol was passing through the village of Rashaf in the central sector of the zone. The officer was evacuated to Haifa's Rambam Hospital.

Northern Command sources say the current escalation of fighting is attributable to both an



attempt by Hizbullah to respond to recent military setbacks and as a reaction to the Taba agreement signed between Israel and the Palestinians.

"It's not as if they get direct orders from Teheran to fire today rather than tomorrow, but there is a general pattern to raise the level of violence in an effort to disrupt the peace talks," a senior Northern Command staff officer said last night.

"They [Hizbullah] are constantly worried that at some point they will be left behind by the Syrians, and that would inevitably mean a cutoff of supplies from Iran."

Pvt. Uri David, 19, (IDF)

## Cabinet to approve Oslo 2 pact today

### Signing ceremony in DC tomorrow

THE cabinet is today expected to overwhelmingly endorse the Israel-PLO self-rule accord initiated in Taba on Sunday.

The agreement will be signed tomorrow at the White House by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, in the presence of President Bill Clinton, Egyptian Prime Minister Hosni Mubarak, Jordan's King Hussein, and other top dignitaries. The ceremony is scheduled for 6 p.m. Israel time.

There are reports that Saudi Foreign Minister Saud al-Faisal, Moroccan Prime Minister Abdellatif Filali,

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, and Norwegian Foreign Minister Godal will also attend.

#### Summary of accord, Page 3

The international donor community, which will meet after the White House signing ceremony, will expand its efforts from just providing emergency fiscal assistance to the Palestinians to embarking upon a drive that emphasizes medium and long-term structural needs such as housing, infrastructure, and industrial zones, UN sources say (story, Page 2).

McCurry said at a press conference that Rabin, Arafat, Clinton, Mubarak, and Hussein will probably speak at the ceremony. He said Clinton would meet separately with Arafat and Rabin tomorrow morning and get together with all four Middle Eastern leaders before the ceremony.

The five will also lunch together at the White House, and an evening reception is planned at the Corcoran Art Gallery. On Friday, Clinton will hold separate meetings with Hussein and Mubarak, McCurry said.

President Ezer Weizman last night welcomed the agreement, saying he hopes it will prove to be an historic landmark. Weizman added his hope that fears about the implication of the agreement would prove groundless.

(Continued on Page 2)



Foreign Minister Shimon Peres beams as PA leader Yasser Arafat displays a copy of the Oslo 2 agreement Sunday in Taba. (AP)

## Government to reveal names of prisoners to be released

THE government will today reveal which Palestinians are to be released this week following the signing of the Oslo 2 agreement, Environment Minister Yossi Sarid said yesterday.

"All women prisoners" are to be included, the Palestinian Authority said.

Prisoners are to be released in three groups - after the signing of Oslo 2 tomorrow, before elections to the 82-member Palestinian council expected in March, and in separate negotiations during final status talks to begin by next May - Nabil Abu Rudeineh, an adviser to PA chairman Yasser Arafat, said.

PA Planning Minister Nabil Shaath, a member of the prisoner release committee, told Israel TV that "there will be 2,100 prisoners who will be released in the

first two stages, besides 960 civilian prisoners." That leaves some 2,200 who will not be released until final status negotiations.

Among the women prisoners slated for immediate release is Abir Wahidi, 27, an accomplice in the drive-by shooting of Zvi Klein of Ofra in December 1991.

Sarid, a member of the prisoner release committee, did not deny that she was on the list, but noted that she was not convicted of shooting Klein herself. She was in the car from which shots were fired at Klein's car.

Sarid intimated that Israel came under pressure from the PA to release Palestinian killers of Israelis. The PA argued that the same criteria should be applied to Palestinians as to Israelis.

Sarid said it was particularly hard to defend Israel's position after the release last week of David Ben-Shimon, who killed one Palestinian and wounded 10 in a shoulder-fired missile attack against a Hebron-bound bus in 1984.

"The PA was very happy with his release. It strengthened their case morally for the release of Palestinians with blood on their hands," Sarid said.

Sarid noted that other Israelis who had murdered were released after four or six years, "because they had better connections than Ben-Shimon." He said that he was equally opposed to all early releases of murderers.

Abu Rudeineh praised the Taba accord saying it spelled out clearly which prisoners were to be released when.

## Formula reached to end Bosnian conflict

NEW YORK (AP) - The warring factions in former Yugoslavia reached agreement yesterday on principles to end the conflict in Bosnia and set up an elected presidency and a parliament. President Clinton said it was a big step

towards "genuine peace." Clinton, in a brief White House news conference announcing the results of a meeting in New York, said the agreement guarantees that Bosnia-Herzegovina will remain a separate, independent country.

"There is no guarantee of success, but today's agreement moves us closer to the ultimate goal of a genuine peace," Clinton said.

"We hope the progress we are making finally reflects the will of the parties to end this terrible war," he said.

Bosnia, Croatia and Serb officials reached agreement on a governmental structure for a Bosnian state divided between Serbs and a Muslim-Croatian federation. The agreement calls for an elected presidency, a parliament and a judicial system.

Earlier story, Page 4

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# Donors will be asked to focus on long-term PA projects

THE international donor community, due to meet after the White House signing ceremony tomorrow, will expand its efforts from emergency fiscal assistance to the Palestinian Authority to a drive to provide for long-term structural needs such as housing, infrastructure, and industrial zones, UN sources say.

The UN and the World Bank are making joint recommendations to the 42 countries that in 1993 have donated \$2.4 billion to the Palestinians over a five-year period. Both bodies are calling for a triangular relationship involving the Palestinian Authority, Israel, and the donors.

Of the \$2.4b. pledged by the donors for five years, \$1.6b. was grants and another \$800 million was in the form of loans and guarantees. In the last two years, about \$600m. or 37 percent of the \$1.6b. grant-based assistance has been disbursed by the donors while only \$10m. has been disbursed as loans or guarantees.

DAVID MAKOVSKY

Until now, much of the \$600m. has gone to recurrent costs of the PA such as salaries for teachers, public employees, and policemen.

The UN and World Bank estimate that donor assistance over the past two years have helped generate 10,000 jobs to deal with such urgent infrastructure needs as renovation of schools, roads and sidewalks, and creation of sewage systems. Unemployment among Palestinians in Gaza is estimated at 30 percent.

While both the UN and World Bank believe that stopgap fiscal assistance to the PA will be needed as it struggles to cope with the 40 spheres of civilian authority it obtained from Israel throughout the territories, the two bodies believe it is possible to expand assistance to long-term structural needs such as housing, infrastructure, and industrial zones.

In particular, the UN and World Bank believe a multi-year housing drive can be fueled

by the private sector and financed through loans and guarantees pledged by the international donors.

Infrastructure that is in need of construction and renovation includes roads, sewage, drainage, solid waste disposal, schools, and hospitals.

The PA has helped identify a plan of over \$1b. for this purpose. Industrial zones are needed for private sector long-term viability, with the hope that many Palestinians will be employed, and that the Israeli business community will help invest in such projects.

Jordan and the US, meanwhile, signed an accord on Monday to ratify a write-off of \$420 million of Amman's remaining debt to Washington, officials said.

The move effectively cancels approximately the \$700m. of official debt owed to Jordan that President Bill Clinton pledged to write-off in support of Jordan's moves to make peace with Israel.



Settlers head for Rosh Hashana prayers yesterday in Hebron, the scene of several stone-throwing incidents over the two-day holiday. In Nablus, a stone-throwing youth, 19, was killed Sunday when soldiers shot at a group who attacked their vehicle with rocks. Yesterday, some 150 Fatah Hawks marched to protest the killing of three youths in recent clashes with the IDF. Last night the IDF Spokesman announced that the closure imposed on the Gaza Strip for security reasons last week will be lifted at 4 a.m. tomorrow. (Khaled Zighan)

## Opposition raps Oslo 2

SARAH HONG

THE opposition unanimously poured scorn on the Oslo 2 accord initiated on the eve of Rosh Hashana, with the Likud demanding a Knesset vote before the signing ceremony in Washington. It also wants the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee convened immediately to prevent the freeing of convicted terrorists.

Likud chairman Binyamin Netanyahu called the agreement a "holiday gift package" that included "adding six more terrorist safe havens to the already existing refugees in Gaza and Jericho, PLO control over a third of Israel's water supply, transferring responsibility for the safety of Israelis to no less than the PLO, and the turning over to the PLO of responsibility for many Jewish holy sites."

According to Netanyahu, "There is no red line which this government has not crossed. No sooner does it draw a red line than it erases it." The government "has just finished reassuring the nation that only the IDF will be responsible for security in Hebron. This is no longer its stand. Only recently it assured us that there would be territorial continuity between Israeli settlements in the autonomy. This has been conceded, too. We were told that Israel would insist on extradition of terrorists, but this is not lived up to either."

Former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir defined "what this government calls peace as the hand-

ing over of our land to foreigners, the incarceration of Jews in ghettos, and putting Israel in a disastrous security situation. This was a horribly conducted negotiation process in a mad rush to make it in time to a ceremony on a lawn overseas and without sufficient thought to any detail. This is the opposite of peace.

"We know who we are dealing with. The PLO has not changed its aim to murder individual Israelis and the Jewish state. They keep promising to amend their Palestinian Covenant. How many times have we heard that? And how many times will we be required to pay anew for hollow promises?"

Tsomet leader Rafael Eitan declared that, "in Tabat, Shimon Peres established the Palestinian state, which will soon function as the staging ground for terror onslaughts upon Israel and to which the attacking terrorists will return with impunity."

The National Religious Party issued a terse statement saying, "The government has just agreed to hand over the cradle of our heritage, the land of our fathers. There is nothing that can possibly sweeten this bitter pill."

Likud MK Elyahu Ben-Elissar took issue with the government's assertion that no terrorists with blood on their hands will be freed as part of the deal. He argued that, "Ironically Israel is, now the sole place on this earth in which convicted murderers and would-be murderers of Jews are let go."

## Settlers ask Weizman to not free Abir Wahidi

HERB KEINON

SETTLEMENT leaders sent an urgent message to President Ezer Weizman last night urging him not to sign papers that would release Abir Wahidi, reportedly one of the Palestinian women prisoners to be released in the next few days. Wahidi was one of the heads of the terror cell that killed Zvi Klein in Ramallah in December 1991.

"Don't support terror disguised as peace," read the letter from the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. Wahidi's release, the letter continued, would be tantamount to "giving a prize" for killing Jews.

Weizman said last week that he would not sign papers to release Palestinian prisoners until the Palestinian Authority extradited those suspected of terror attacks who are believed to be in Jericho.

Klein was killed when his car was ambushed by gunfire in Ramallah, as he was driving to his home in Ofra. One of his daughters, and two other students, were in the car at the time, but were not injured.

"It is appalling that they would consider letting her go. She was the mastermind behind the ambush," said Aliza Herbst, a spokeswoman for the Binyamin Regional Council.

## 'Hebron redeployment not before April'

ALON PINKAS

THE construction of the Hebron bypass road will not be completed before late March or early April and accordingly, the IDF redeployment in the city will not commence before then, a General Staff officer said on Monday.

The officer also said Central Command is now drafting guidelines regarding entrance by Israelis into Palestinian cities that will be evacuated.

"Simply speaking, Area A [the cities] will be closed to Israelis. Movement will be allowed on designated roads only. That is the

idea of this agreement," the army officer said.

"The issue of the [Hebron] bypass road was brought up repeatedly by [OC Central Command, Maj.-Gen.] Ilan Biran and finally got the support of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Construction has already begun, but it will take at least until next March to complete it," the officer said.

In regard to the other cities, he said that

redemption maps have been drawn and plans finalized some time ago and, pending instructions from the political echelon, the IDF can begin redeployment in November and initial base relocations as early as next month.

"But Hebron may very well change that timetable," he added. The plans and maps were prepared by the OC Planning Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan, who resigned last week as the senior military representative to the talks with the Palestinians.

## Poll: 60% of Palestinians don't expect lasting peace

A POLL has found that almost 60 percent of Palestinians do not expect a lasting peace with Israel, but nevertheless almost 50% are optimistic about the future and 70% support continued peace talks.

The survey, conducted by the Nablus-based Center for Palestine Research and Studies before agreement was reached on Oslo 2, showed more than 66% thought the Palestinian Authority was headed in the right direction.

Support for PA chairman Yasser Arafat was up to 54% after dipping below 50% in July. Support for Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin was also up from 13% to 17%.

The number of those who said they would participate in the Palestinian council elections increased from 68% to 74%.

The poll among 1,190 interviewees had a 3% margin of error.

Jon Immanuel

## Man killed in road accident

A ROMANIAN worker, 43, was hit by a car and killed when he ran out into the Ashkelon-Ashdod road Monday night. Police said the man was drunk and was walking home to Gan Yavne after a night out in Ashdod.

A Nahariya woman, Elka Giladi, 30, was hit by a car in Kafr Yirka yesterday and suffered severe injuries. The driver fled the scene but was later caught with the help of eyewitnesses.

Last night, a motorcyclist was seriously injured when he was hit by a car that ran through a stop

sign in Netanya. He suffered serious head injuries, while the passengers in the car were lightly injured.

Eleven people were lightly hurt early Monday in a three-car crash near Lake Kinneret. One car tried to pass when the road was not clear and hit another car head-on. The car that was passed also hit the passing car. All the injured were brought to Poriya Hospital for treatment. An hour later, a car overturned on the same road. Three people were injured. (Him)

### SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The weekly meeting of the English-speaking Jerusalem Rotary Club will take place today at 1 p.m. at the YMCA, King David Street. Ira Brier will speak on: The JNF - The Challenge Ahead. A Very Happy New Year to All.

### CABINET

(Continued from Page 1)

The document to be signed is about 400 pages long and it includes annexes on security arrangements, transfer of powers, elections, legal matters, economic links, and Israeli-Palestinian cooperation. The two sides are

also expected to sign detailed maps.

The IDF pullback will take place gradually over the next few months, Israeli officials said last night, beginning with Jenin and moving southward. "The agreement said that the IDF redeployment will be completed by the end of December," one official said.

The Palestinians say the IDF pullout is to begin 10 days from the signing of the agreement, but Israeli officials have yet to confirm this.

A firm date for Palestinian elections has yet to be set. The options are currently before Ramadan begins in the third week of January, or April, officials said.

The Palestinians may choose April, because the bypass road around Hebron is not expected to be completed before the end of March, and the IDF cannot leave most of the city until it is completed. Arafat has indicated that he does not want elections while the IDF controls all of Hebron.

Arafat convened the PLO Executive Committee last night in Tunis in a bid to win ratification. It is estimated that seven of the 18 members are boycotting the session.

On Monday, the Palestinian Authority approved the agreement, although there were two abstentions.

Deferred to the final status negotiations beginning next May (and to conclude no later than May 1999) were the issues of Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, settlement arrangements, borders, and cooperation with neighboring countries.

Before today's cabinet meeting, Rabin and Peres are expected to discuss some issues that Arafat wants resolved which are not listed in the Tabat accord, such as enlarging the size of Jericho.

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The mourners:  
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Yoni, Esther, and Hagai Lahav

The Shiva will take place at 8 Aluf Simhoni St., Jerusalem.

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of

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**THE official summary of the 460-page Israel-PLO interim autonomy agreement, provided in English by the Government Press Office:**

**BACKGROUND**  
The main object of the Interim Agreement is to broaden Palestinian self-government in the West Bank by means of an elected self-governing authority - the Palestinian Council. This will allow the Palestinians to conduct their own internal affairs, reduce points of friction between Israelis and Palestinians, and open a new era of cooperation and co-existence based on common interest, dignity, and mutual respect. At the same time it protects Israel's vital interests, and in particular its security interests, both with regard to external security and the personal security of its citizens in the West Bank.

**GENERAL**  
The Interim Agreement between Israel and the PLO, including its various annexes, comprises some 400 pages, setting forth the future relations between Israel and the Palestinians. To the main body of the agreement are appended six annexes dealing with: security arrangements, elections, civil affairs (transfer of powers), legal matters, economic relations, and Israeli-Palestinian cooperation.

The agreement states that a Palestinian Council will be elected for an interim period not to exceed five years from the signing of the Gaza-Jericho agreement (i.e. no later than May 1999). The negotiations on the permanent status arrangements will begin no later than May 1996.

The permanent status negotiations will deal with the remaining issues, including Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations, cooperation with neighboring countries, etc.

**ELECTIONS**  
The council is an elected body, and accordingly the agreement sets out arrangements for democratic elections to the council by all Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip age 18 or older, who are registered in the population register. The elections will take place 22 days after the conclusion of an IDF redeployment from populated areas of the West Bank.

The elections to the council will be personal and by districts. A separate election will be held simultaneously for the election of the head of the Executive Authority of the council. The candidacy of an individual, a party, or a coalition of parties shall be rejected if the said candidate, party, or coalition professes racist views or acts in an illegal or undemocratic manner.

Palestinian residents of Jerusalem will be able to participate in the elections according to special arrangements detailed in the agreement. The voting will take place in localities outside Jerusalem and by means of special envelopes which will be sent from post offices to the Central Elections Committee. A Palestinian with a Jerusalem address who wishes to stand for election to the Palestinian Council will be able to do so only if he or she has an additional valid address in the West Bank or Gaza Strip.

All stages of the election process will be open to international observation, to ensure that they are free and fair. At the request of the parties, the European Union has agreed to coordinate the election observation. The observer delegation will be composed of representatives from the following states and international organizations: the EU, UN, US, the Russian Federation, Canada, Egypt, Japan, Jordan, Norway, South Africa, the Non-Aligned Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and the Islamic Conference Organization.

**THE PALESTINIAN COUNCIL**  
The Palestinian Council to be established following the elections will assume various powers and responsibilities in security and civil spheres in the West Bank and Gaza, as detailed below. With the establishment of the council, the Israeli military government will be withdrawn and the Civil Administration dissolved. The council will assume responsibility for all rights, liabilities, and obligations in the spheres transferred to it. At the same time, Israel will retain those powers and responsibilities not transferred to the council.

The council, which will have 82 members, will have legislative and executive powers. The agreement provides that the legislative powers will be exercised by the council as a whole, while its executive powers will be exercised by a committee of the council - the Executive Authority. This committee shall comprise council members together with a small number of appointed officials.

The powers of the council will extend to all matters within its jurisdiction. It should be noted that it will not have powers in the sphere of foreign relations. The agreement does, however, provide for a number of areas in which the PLO may, on behalf of the council, conduct negotiations and sign agreements.

**SECURITY AND REDEPLOYMENT**  
The IDF will redeploy in the West Bank according to the timetable set out in the agreement. In the first stage, designed to facilitate the holding of elections, the IDF will withdraw from the populated areas of the West Bank: the six cities - Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarm, Kalkiya, Ramallah, and Bethlehem (in the city of Hebron special security arrangements will apply as provided in the agreement) - and 450 towns and villages. At the end of this redeployment, there will be almost no IDF presence in the Palestinian population centers.

In general, throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Israel will have overall responsibility for external security and the security of Israelis and settlements.

With regard to internal security and public order, the agreement establishes different arrangements for three types of area: Area A comprises the six cities listed above. In these areas, the Palestinian Council will have full responsibility for internal security and public order, as well as full civil responsibilities. Area B comprises the Palestinian towns and villages of the West Bank. In these areas, which contain some 68 percent of

## Summary of Israel-PA agreement



Palestinian and Israeli negotiators Ahmed Qreia, left, and Uri Savir shake hands after initialing the interim stage autonomy agreement on Sunday.

the Palestinian population, the council will be granted full civil authority, as in Area A. The council will be charged with maintaining public order, while Israel will have overall security authority to safeguard citizens and combat terrorism. This responsibility shall take precedence over the Palestinian responsibility for public order.

Twenty-five Palestinian police stations will be established in specified towns and villages to enable the Palestinian Police to exercise its responsibility for public order. The agreement contains provisions requiring that the movement of Palestinian police be coordinated and confirmed with Israel. In Area C, which comprises the unpopulated areas, areas of strategic importance to Israel, and the Jewish settlements, Israel will retain full responsibility for security and public order. The council will assume all those civil responsibilities not related to territory, such as economics, health, education, etc.

**FURTHER REDEPLOYMENT**  
In addition to the redeployment of Israeli military forces described above, the agreement provides that a series of further redeployments are to take place at six-month intervals following the inauguration of the council. In the course of these redeployments, additional parts of Area C will be transferred to the territorial jurisdiction of the council, so that by the completion of the redeployment phases, "Palestinian territorial jurisdiction will cover West Bank territory except for the areas where jurisdiction is to be determined under the final status negotiations (settlements, military locations, etc.)."

**THE REVOCATION OF THE PLO COVENANT**  
The agreement contains an undertaking to revoke those articles of the Palestinian Covenant calling for the destruction of Israel, within two months of inauguration of the council.

### THE POLICY FOR PREVENTION OF TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE

The agreement provides for the establishment of a strong police force, 12,000 in number, that will constitute the only Palestinian security force. The Security Annex specifies the deployment of the police force, the approved equipment, and its modes of action.

The Security Annex specifies the commitment of Israel and the Palestinian Council to cooperate in the fight against terrorism and the prevention of terrorist attacks, according to the following framework:

A) The Palestinian Police is the only Palestinian security authority.

B) The Palestinian Police will act systematically against all expressions of violence and terror.

C) The council will issue permits in order to legalize the possession and carrying of arms by civilians; any illegal arms will be confiscated by the Palestinian Police.

D) The Palestinian Police will arrest and prosecute individuals suspected of perpetrating acts of violence and terror.

Both sides, in accordance with this agreement, will act to insure the immediate, efficient and effective handling of any incident involving the threat, or acts of terrorism, violence, or incitement, whether committed by Palestinians or Israelis. To this end, they will cooperate in the exchange of information and coordinate policies and activities.

Joint security committees will be established to coordinate between the IDF and the Palestinian Police. Regional offices will operate 24 hours a

day. Joint patrols will ensure free and secure movement on designated roads in Area A. Joint mobile units will serve as rapid response units in case of incidents or emergencies.

### TRANSFER OF CIVIL POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The agreement sets out the arrangements for the transfer of agreed civil powers and responsibilities for the Civil Administration to the council. In Area C, powers and responsibilities not relating to territory will be transferred to the council; powers and responsibilities relating to territory will be gradually transferred along with the redeployments in these areas.

### FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FOR ISRAELIS

The IDF and Israelis will continue to move freely on the roads of the West Bank and Gaza. In Area A, Israeli vehicles will be escorted by joint patrols. Israelis may not in any circumstances be arrested or placed in custody by the Palestinian Police, and may only be required to present identity and vehicle documentation. On roads that are jointly patrolled, any request for identification shall only be made by the Israeli side of a joint patrol.

### RELIGIOUS SITES

Responsibility over sites of religious significance in the West Bank and Gaza will be transferred to the Palestinian side. In Area C, this will be transferred gradually during the "further redeployment phase," except for the issues which will be negotiated during the permanent status negotiations. Both sides shall respect and protect religious

rights of Jews, Christians, Moslems, and Samaritans, to wit:

A) Protecting the holy sites.

B) Allowing free access to the holy sites.

C) Allowing freedom of worship and practice.

Jewish holy sites are listed in the agreement.

The agreement guarantees freedom of access to and freedom of worship at the holy places located in Areas A and B. With regard to Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem and Joseph's Tomb in Nablus, special arrangements are set out in the agreement, which will also guarantee freedom of access and freedom of worship.

In view of the Jewish presence in the heart of Hebron and the sensitive historical and religious aspects involved, special arrangements will apply in this city. These arrangements will enable Palestinian police to exercise responsibilities necessary to protect Israeli residents living in Hebron and visiting holy places.

There will be a redeployment of Israeli military forces in Hebron, except for places and roads where arrangements are necessary for the security and protection of Israelis and their movements. This redeployment will be completed no later than six months after the signing of this agreement. Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for overall security of Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order.

The status quo at the Tomb of the Patriarchs will remain unchanged, for the time being. There will be a temporary international presence in Hebron.

### WATER

The agreement contains an undertaking on the part of Israel to increase the amount of water allocated to the Palestinians by 28 million cubic meters. Any further addition to either side will be based on an increase in the available water resources to be developed through international funding and channels, among them the tripartite American-Palestinian-Israeli forum which will hold its first meeting after the signing of the Interim Agreement. The agreement provides for the establishment of a joint water committee that will manage water resources and enforce water policies, protecting the interests of both parties by the prevention of uncontrolled drilling by enforcing standards, etc.

### RELEASE OF PRISONERS

To foster a positive atmosphere as this agreement is being implemented, and to engender mutual confidence and a basis for cooperation between the two peoples, Israel will release Palestinian prisoners who are in Israeli custody in three stages according to the following format: Stage 1 - Upon the signing of the agreement. Stage 2 - On the eve of elections of the council. Stage 3 - According to other principles which will be established separately.

The number of prisoners to be released will be detailed in the agreement.

An Israel-Palestinian joint committee will be established to discuss the details of the release of prisoners.

### EDUCATION FOR PEACE

The agreement defines relations between Israel and the council. Both sides will act to strengthen understanding and tolerance, prevent incitement and hostile propaganda, and will use the legal means at their disposal to prevent incitement on the part of groups or individuals. Both sides have pledged that their educational systems will act to advance peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

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# Warring Bosnian factions open talks

NEW YORK (AP) — The warring parties in Bosnia, prodded by the United States and its European allies, opened a new round of negotiations yesterday, urged by Secretary of State Warren Christopher to seize "the moment in history" and reach a cease-fire.

Convening the meeting, which also included diplomats from the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the European Union, Christopher said it was "an important day, a time to maintain the momentum for peace."

He said there was "some hope" of reaching agreement on a governmental structure for a Bosnia state divided between Serbs and a Moslem-Croatian federation.

In what has emerged as a pattern in the negotiations, the Bosnian Moslem government was threatening up the last moment to boycott the session because of Serb demands.

But in the end, all three parties were seated at the round table on the 12th floor of the US Mission to the United Nations.

Yugoslav foreign minister Milan Milutinovic said just before the meeting: "We are discussing constitutional arrangements and I hope we will adopt them by tonight."

But a Bosnian official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the Serbs opposed a government proposal for Bosnia-wide parliamentary elections. Instead, they wanted each side to appoint

the lawmakers.

"Their efforts to create two completely separate states, one of which could secede at some later date, are evident," Sven Alkalaj, Bosnian ambassador to the United States, told The Associated Press.

The Bosnian official said the Serbs also rejected a Bosnian government suggestion that members of the presidency — the proposed executive body — be chosen by popular vote.

In addition, he said, the Serbs want the presidency confined to dealing with foreign policy while local matters — including customs and police — would be handled separately by the two entities to be created.

"We want to see democracy

and human rights take hold in our country," Bosnian foreign minister Muhamed Sacirbey told The AP. "Unfortunately, we are dealing with despots and tyrants who want the opposite."

Bosnian officials said they would want each of the three ethnic groups to be equally represented on the presidency and each ethnic group would retain a veto right.

Christopher urged the foreign ministers to try and agree on terms for a cease-fire in the war that has raged for nearly four years.

"I personally think the time has come for that," he said. "Maybe this is that moment in history when we can reach a cease-fire."

Christopher attended the opening of the meeting and then left Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke to preside. Christopher's agenda for the day included meetings with several foreign ministers, including Andrei Kozirev of Russia.

After the session, Holbrooke and the other members of the US negotiating team were returning to the embattled region to resume their shuttle diplomacy. Their first stop on this trip will be Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital.

In an effort to narrow their differences, the Balkan foreign ministers — Mate Granic of Croatia, Bosnia's Sacirbey and Milutinovic of Serbia — met individually far into the night with US diplomats.

## Christopher asks UN to run itself more efficiently

UNITED NATIONS (AP) — Deep in debt and criticized for oversteering, the United Nations heard pleas from its biggest debtor — the United States — to oversee the post-Cold War world more efficiently and cheaply.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher told the UN General Assembly yesterday that it could save money by ending programs that have achieved their purpose, consolidating agencies, streamlining operations and more closely scrutinizing peacekeeping mission proposals.

"The United Nations must emerge from the reform process better able to meet its fundamental goals, including the preservation of peace and security," said Christopher, speaking on the first day of the 185-member assembly's 50th annual debate.

The United Nations faces one of the worst financial crises in its history. The regular budget ran out of money in mid-August, and it is borrowing from its peacekeeping fund, which is also in arrears.

The United States and other members have repeatedly demanded that the United Nations reform to save money. Washington owes \$1.6 billion to the organization — more than any other country.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Bjorn Tore Godal accused nations in arrears on UN dues of

failing to pull their weight. He acknowledged, however, that the assessment system used to charge nations should be reviewed. The United States has complained that the formula requires it to contribute more than its share.

The calls for cost-cutting have been matched with proposals to expand the 15-member Security Council to better reflect the world's new economic powers and increase representation of developing nations.

Christopher said the five permanent seats on the council — now held by the United States, Britain, France, China and Russia — should be increased to include Germany and Japan.

Brazilian Foreign Minister Luiz Felipe Lampreia opened debate by calling for an enlargement of the non-permanent council membership to include developing countries "with both the capacity to act and an effective presence on a global scale."

Speakers also urged the United Nations to set priorities to confront the new challenges of the post-Cold War world. High on the list were the spread of weapons of mass destruction, drug trafficking and terrorism.

Monday was the first day of two weeks of speeches by hundreds of government representatives from around the world. (AP)

## Japanese bank trader loses \$1.1b

NEW YORK (AP) — A US bond trader at Daiwa Bank was charged yesterday with falsifying records in connection with \$1.1 billion in losses from what the Japanese bank said was 11 years of unauthorized trading.

Mary Jo White, the US attorney for New York, said that if convicted, Toshihide Iguchi, 44, faces a maximum sentence of 30 years in prison and \$1 million in fines. He also could be ordered to make restitution.

Iguchi, an executive vice president at Daiwa's New York office, was arrested during the weekend in New Jersey, where he lives.

White said the government would seek an order to detain him because of the scope of the case and huge sum involved.

The bank said that no depositor or customer suffered any losses. It said despite a writedown against earnings for the trading losses, it expected to report a profit for the first half of the year.

The bank earlier said Iguchi engaged in 30,000 unauthorized trades and had been fired.

White said the bank learned about the trading losses in July, but that federal authorities were first alerted last week, when the bank made a required report on its trades to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

White said the bank's own examiners may have been fooled during the period the unauthorized trades allegedly took place. "There is some evidence the examiners were led astray when they did some of their examinations," she said.

"The message of this case is perfectly clear... the internal controls are essential to safeguarding all banks and financial institutions and the money entrusted to them," White said.

She also said others at the bank are under investigation but have not been charged.

White said a rough estimate of the trading loss was between one-quarter and one-third of Daiwa's total US Treasury bond portfolio in New York.

"Risk management is so weak" in Japanese banks, said Yukiko Ohara, an analyst at UBS Securities Ltd. "Among the advanced nations it may be the worst."

Analysts agreed with Japanese authorities that Daiwa is big enough to overcome the losses and that other major banks would be little affected in financial terms.

Instead the impact is likely to be psychological: How can Japan's banks be trusted to clean up their bad-debt problems when one of the biggest couldn't tell that a \$1 billion was missing?



South African police carry away the bodies of two victims in Monday night's church service massacre. (Reuter)

## South Africa gunmen kill 12 at church service

UNIDENTIFIED gunmen shot dead 12 people attending a church service in a village in South Africa's Zulu heartland then torched the hut, police said yesterday.

The Monday night massacre brought to at least 70 the number killed since last Friday in KwaZulu-Natal province, scene of feuding between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) both before and after elections last year.

"The hut in which the church meeting took place was then set alight. Twelve people were killed — seven adults and five children," said police spokesman Captain Dawood Kader.

"The bodies were charred and we don't have their names or their exact ages yet. Four who were wounded escaped and reported to the police," Kader said. Police found cartridges from several guns. "The motive at this stage is attributed to a faction fight. It appears it has nothing to do with politics," Kader said.

More than 10,000 people have been died in

CRAIG DOONAN  
DURBAN

political violence in the province over the past 10 years. The bloodshed has grown worse again recently, with 78 people killed in the previous week, but it is not clear how much is political and how much criminal.

For decades, even before the ANC and Inkatha began fighting for turf, faction fighting has been rife in the countryside. Clans fight for anything from grazing space, cattle theft to land and water. An Inkatha spokesman on safety and security said the party condemned the killings. But the ANC blamed Inkatha, saying the party wanted to intimidate people.

"This attack is a deliberate attempt by Inkatha to intimidate people to toe their line," ANC deputy secretary-general Sifiso Nkabinde said.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-

lezi has a longstanding rivalry with Nelson Mandela and his ANC that brought South Africa to the brink of civil war before its first all-race elections last year which ended apartheid and made Mandela the country's first black president.

The two parties are still arguing over a new constitution. Buthelezi demands virtual autonomy for the Zulus, South Africa's biggest ethnic group, while the ANC wants a strong central government.

There are also demands for justice over past bloodshed. At the same time, crime is endemic and the government has said fighting it is a main priority. Mandela has sent hundreds of police and army reinforcements to the province, the latest units totaling 600 just a month ago, to try to stem the violence.

Meanwhile police used stun grenades and tear gas to disperse hundreds of striking municipal workers who scattered rubbish through central Johannesburg yesterday, a police spokesman said. (Reuter)

## Closing arguments set to begin in Simpson trial

LOS ANGELES (AP) — The O.J. Simpson murder trial resumed yesterday with lawyers set to begin their closing arguments, the last chapter of a media spectacle that has transfixed the United States.

The court session began with attorneys arguing about exhibits the prosecution wants to show during its legal summation yesterday.

Simpson is charged with the June 12, 1994, slayings of his ex-wife Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman. They were slashed to death outside her condominium as her two children slept inside.

Simpson, an ex-football star and movie actor, has maintained his innocence. He faces life in prison if convicted.

The prosecution, which carries the burden of proof, has a more daunting task than the defense. That's why prosecutors get to

speak twice — presenting their case and then rebutting whatever the defense says.

Superior Court Judge Lance Ito declined to set time limits for the presentations, but said he would like both sides to conclude by Friday so jury deliberations can begin the following week. The prosecutors' argument will be the last that jurors hear before they retire to begin deliberations.

"You have O.J. Simpson on trial here. (Prosecutor) Marcia Clark has to give the closing argu-

ment of a lifetime," Loyola University law professor Laurie Levenson said. "This case is way too close to give just a workmanlike argument."

Lead defense attorney Johnnie Cochran Jr. is likely to return to the themes of his opening statement, delivered eight long months ago: Simpson was framed, set up, victimized by police. And Cochran will seek to convince jurors that the evidence is such a mess it would be a crime to convict Simpson.

## Humphrey the cat found alive and well in London

LONDON (Reuter) — Relief pervaded the corridors of British power yesterday when the latest crisis to hit 10 Downing Street was defused — Humphrey the cat had been found.

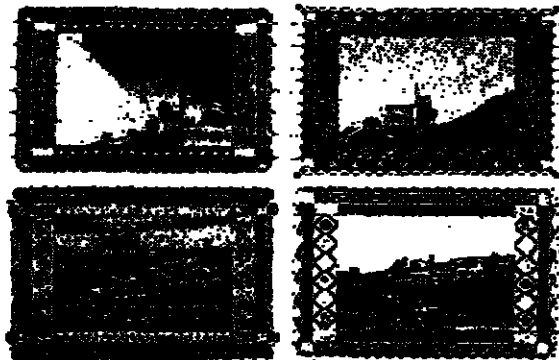
News that the black and white stray which has made its home in the office of Prime Minister John Major had gone missing broke early in the day. A Cabinet Office spokesman said: "He had

been ill. We fear the worst."

Catastrophe was averted when it was discovered hours later that the political feline was being looked after by staff at the Royal Army Medical College one km away. "He's as fat as ever and has obviously been well cared for," the delighted spokesman said.

Photographers were summoned to Downing Street as Humphrey held a photocall.

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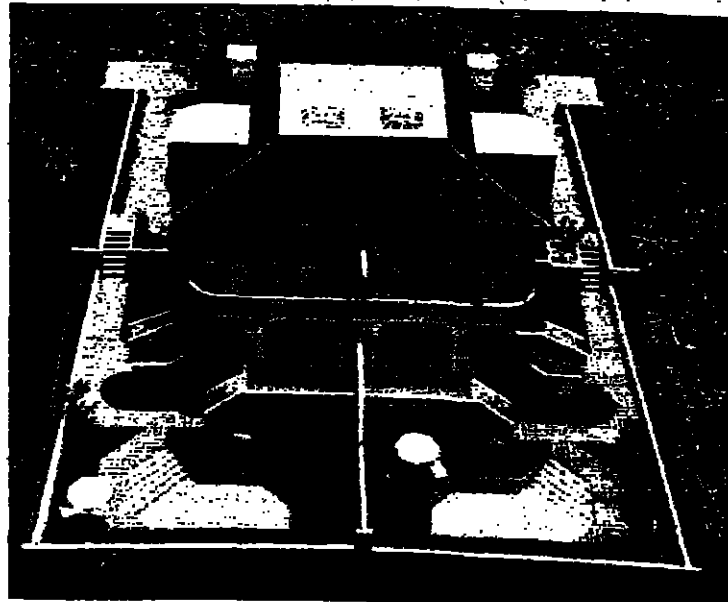
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## Iran marks war with Iraq

News agencies  
TEHRAN

SEVERAL divisions of Iranian troops paraded in Tehran over the weekend in a display of military might to mark the 15th anniversary of the devastating 1980-88 war with Iraq.

State-run Teheran Radio reported that units of the regular army, the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps and the special Basij volunteer force marched through the capital's flag-decked Azadi Square as President Hashemi Rafsanjani and the country's military commanders took the salute.

Rafsanjani repeated accusations that Israel was behind the hijacking of an Iranian airliner last week.

He said the hijacking last Tuesday was "a stupid move which showed that those who claim to fight terrorism are lying."

"They ended up disgracing themselves," Rafsanjani said in reference to Israel.

Iranian officials and the pilot said the hijacker asked to be taken to Israel as soon as he took control of the aircraft with a gun and explosives.

Iranian authorities alleged that the Israelis had advance notice of the hijacking and were waiting for the plane.

The parade through the square festooned with giant portraits of the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, founder of the Islamic republic, marked the day Saddam Hussein invaded Iran in 1980.

He sought a quick seizure of Iran's southwestern oil fields amid the anarchy triggered by the 1979 Islamic revolution.

Instead, he got bogged down in an eight-year war in which about 1 million people were killed on both sides.

In the parade, one of the biggest seen in Teheran in recent years, the military displayed Soviet-era T-62 and T-55 tanks, many of them captured from Iraq during the war; Iranian-built Eagle missiles, mobile radar systems and 155-mm artillery as warplanes roared overhead.

At 2:15 p.m. Friday, the precise time that the invasion began, the radio broadcast a recording of the air raid siren that warned Iranians of the war 15 years ago.

Thousands of Iranians, who thronged streets leading to the square, watched a skydiving display and were showered with flowers scattered by army helicopters, the radio said in a broadcast monitored in Nicosia.

Rafsanjani denounced the US in a speech, saying Iran was too powerful to be shaken by the trade sanctions imposed in June by President Bill Clinton.

"The naive perception that Iran can be brought to its knees by a simple embargo is puerile," Rafsanjani declared.

"We know how ignorant this kind of thinking is... which has brought nothing but disgrace to the Americans," he said.

Clinton imposed the sanctions, tightening economic restrictions already in place, in a bid to force Iran to abandon its alleged pursuit of nuclear weapons and support for international terrorism.

But the Iranians have boasted that Washington has failed to persuade its allies, mainly Western Europe and Japan, to take similar measures against the oil-rich Islamic Republic.

Meanwhile, Iranian naval and air forces launched ambitious military exercises in the Gulf, state-run Teheran radio said.

## Graves shed clues on pharaonic union

A 5,500-year-old cemetery on an arid patch once watered by the Nile River is giving up clues about the union of Upper and Lower Egypt, the event that ushered in the Pharaohs.

Archaeologists are uncovering skeletons, shards of clay and alabaster pottery and other artifacts at the 36-hectare cemetery nearly 15 kilometers west of the Suez Canal.

"We don't know when Egyptian culture began, and this is the key to finding out," said Felici Hassan, an archaeologist at University College in London and head of the Egyptian-British group studying the site.

So far, archaeologists have uncovered 813 graves spread over 200 square meters and more are sure to be excavated, making it one of the largest prehistoric burial grounds in Egypt.

What is striking, they say, is that some of the graves appear to

date to the reign of Narmer. He is considered the first ruler who united the Nile Valley of Upper Egypt with the fertile delta of Lower Egypt.

The process of unifying the north and south is thought to have taken centuries, much of it still concealed in legends and half-truths from later records.

"It is the beginning of the culture," said Abdel-Halim Nouredin, the Egyptian antiquities chief, who believes the site may become more important than the Giza pyramids.

Origins of Egyptian mythology might date to those times as well, and some artifacts suggest the beginning of social differentiation, state religion and the uniformity in religious beliefs that came to characterize Pharaonic Egypt.

The ancient cemetery was found by accident. In 1988, a company wanted to build a condominium on the site. Some pits were dug, and the graves found.

# PLO lieutenants may unite against Arafat

### BACKGROUND

PINHAS INBARI

WHILE all attention was directed last week toward Taba, few noticed a new development starting in the territories which indirectly influenced the Oslo 2 negotiations.

About two weeks ago, a prominent Fatah leader from the "outside," Abbas Zaki, arrived in Gaza and was warmly accepted by delegations from the West Bank.

Meanwhile, Abu Mazen, Oslo 1 agreements architect, quietly inaugurated his bureau in Ramallah, and toured the West Bank, to make political alliances.

While PA head, Yasser Arafat, negotiated with the Israelis on the terms of his entrance to the West Bank, the second line of leadership was preparing itself for the next stage of the political developments.

Neither Abbas Zaki nor Abu Mazen supports Arafat in his

tough negotiations with the Israelis. Zaki is a well-known opponent of the Oslo agreement; Abu Mazen dissociated himself from the process, claiming the current negotiations have nothing to do with the original agreements he concluded with Israel.

The timing of their decision to take over is no less crucial than the nature of the Oslo 2 agreements, which are Arafat's visa to the West Bank.

Zaki and Abu Mazen have different backgrounds. The former belonged to the Abu Jihad wing in the old PLO apparatus, while the latter is considered to be the heir of Abu Iyad. Abu Jihad's major rival, Both leaders were liquidated in different circumstances, but their brutal disappearance left a big gap in the second tier of the Palestinian political machine.

Abu Jihad and Abu Iyad dis-

agreed completely with each other, but they were prominent leaders who contributed a lot to Palestinian political thinking. Abu Jihad wanted to push the PLO toward the revolutionary regimes of the Middle East - like Khomeini's Iran and Libya. Abu Iyad claimed that the future of the Palestinians was linked to the US. Abu Jihad fostered the belligerent character of the PLO. Abu Iyad preached "lowering the swords" and turning the PLO into a political, civil organization.

BY BALANCING his two rival deputies, Arafat succeeded in keeping power in his hands. But the case is different with Abu Iyad's and Abu Jihad's suc-

sors. Abu Mazen and Abbas Zaki are of different characters than their predecessors, and the political environment has changed. There is now a real chance that the major wings in the PLO will join against Arafat.

In this week's protracted negotiations, Arafat asked the Israeli delegation not to fix January next year as the date of elections in the territories, but March or even April. He explained that he needed enough time to organize and establish himself in West Bank to win at the polls.

The Israelis believe that what Arafat has in mind is to concentrate all his efforts to fight Hamas, but that's not the case. Arafat is much more concerned with

the current leadership in the West Bank, whether Fatah, Hamas, Popular Front or whatever, and the possibility that this leadership will join forces with Abu Mazen or Abbas Zaki or both.

Arafat has reason to believe that the existing political and social infrastructure in the West Bank will give the Palestinian Authority a hard time.

The chairman must have read the winter edition of *Palestinian Studies* magazine, in which West Bank Fatah leaders rejected the PA's spread from Gaza to the West Bank if the PA continued to ignore the role of the "intifada generation" in the new Palestinian administration.

Marwan Barghouti, the Fatah head in the West Bank, expressed loyalty to Arafat but did not conceal the grievances of intifada "field activists" against the PA. He said he would not be

surprised if Fatah burned PA ministers' cars. If Arafat cannot trust West Bank Fatah, whom can he trust?

In his last tour of the West Bank, Abu Mazen put a lot of effort into his meetings with Barghouti. And their statements have sounded similar. Abu Mazen warned, "Hebron is not negotiable." Barghouti cautioned "the Palestinian delegation" and specifically Arafat that Fatah would not participate in elections if Hebron were given up. We can assume that the Fatah head in the West Bank and Abu Mazen are together organizing opposition to Arafat in the next stage.

This was the reason why Arafat pressed Israel to permit the entrance of Abbas Zaki. It was not against Hamas that he needed Zaki now, but against the possible alliance of "inside" Fatah and Abu Mazen.

## Egyptian fugitive vanishes

News agencies  
CAIRO

ONE of the Egyptian government's most wanted fugitives disappeared after the Croatian police arrested him in Zagreb on the night of September 12, the newspaper *al-Hayat* said last week.

Talaat Foud Qassem, spokesman in exile for the militant Gama'a al-Islamiya (Islamic Group) and a political refugee in Denmark, had been on his way to Bosnia to write a book, it said, quoting his wife in Copenhagen.

Egypt has long sought to get Qassem, 38, returned from Europe for trial. His wife and supporters suggested Egypt - or the US - could have been behind his disappearance.

Last January, under President Clinton's antiterrorism initiative, Qassem's name was put on a list of people to whom transfer of funds are to be blocked.

At Qassem's request, Egyptian lawyer Abdel-Halim Mandour filed a suit in Cairo to try to block Clinton's action.

Qassem was found guilty and sentenced to death in absentia in

a 1992 trial of militants who allegedly received training in Pakistan or Afghanistan. He would have to be retried if captured.

There have been persistent reports that in the war in the former Yugoslavia, hundreds of Moslem militants wanted in their own countries have volunteered to fight alongside Bosnian government forces.

The Croatian government said he left the country some time between September 14 and 18, after a local court found him guilty of breaking the regulations for being in the country, it added.

But his wife held the Croatians responsible for his safety and said he had a valid visa.

She said her husband was arrested along with a translator who met him at Zagreb airport on September 12 and with the translator's neighbor, who had put Qassem up for the night.

On their release, the translator and the neighbor quoted the police as saying that Qassem had gone away but the police did not say where, *al-Hayat* said.

## Row erupts over report that Algeria misled France

FRANCE'S Interior Minister Jean-Louis Debré denied a remark ascribed to him by several French newspapers saying that Algeria had misled French police probing a wave of bombings to pin the blame on Algerian Moslem extremists.

Despite a threat from Debré's office of legal action, three leading dailies printed the reported comment that Algerian military intelligence had deliberately given his investigators false leads.

"The Algerian military security forces wanted to put us on the wrong track so we would eliminate some people who are bothering them," the newspapers quoted the minister as telling four journalists at a luncheon earlier this month.

The report came against a background of strained ties between Algiers and its former colonial master over the handling of

civil strife in which some 40,000 Algerians have died since the army intervened to cancel 1992 elections that the Islamic Salvation Front was poised to win.

French officials believe a string of six bombs planted since July 25 are the work of Moslem extremists who accuse Paris of backing the Algerian government they seek to topple.

The Algerians supplied France with old photographs of a wanted fundamentalist that they said matched identikit pictures.

Investigators have said the main suspects in the bombing wave are part of the Islamic Armed Group, a radical group that split off from the FIS two years ago.

The disputed Debré remark first appeared in the provincial daily *La Nouvelle République*, then the Franco-Arab newspaper *Al-Moharir* last week. (Reuters)



A soldier guards two Egyptians last week at a military checkpoint at the entrance to Taba. Security has been tight during talks there between Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. (AP)

## 'Iraq tried to build small nukes for war'

News agencies  
WASHINGTON

AT the time of the Gulf war, Iraqi scientists were trying to make small nuclear warheads that could be carried on missiles or warplanes, Iraqi defector Gen. Hussein Kamel Hassan told CNN last week.

Meanwhile, former US secretary of state James Baker revealed that he used a nuclear bluff to deter Iraq from using chemical and biological weapons, according to excerpts from his book published in *Newsweek*.

"If you go to war with the coalition, you will surely lose," Baker told Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, according to the book. "This will not be a war of attrition like you fought with Iran.... We have the means to define how the battle will be fought and you do not...."

Hussein Kamel made his statement when asked in an interview whether Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had asked his scientists if it was feasible "to deliver some kind of nuclear device at the time of the Gulf war."

He said: "Our first design was for 12 tons, then it went down to six tons; then we wanted a small bomb with a 500-kilogram warhead or even 300 kg, so it could be easily carried by missiles or warplanes."

"Iraq was working very quickly on this. We wanted the missiles to carry the nuclear weapons. But that's all in the past. Now, Iraq is not going to repeat that."

"Iraq does not possess any weapons of mass destruction," he said in the interview.

Hussein Kamel said, "It was wrong for Iraq to invade Kuwait. It was a mistake not to pull out in the face of the overwhelming power of the allied coalition."

CNN did not make clear where the interview took place.

HUSSEIN KAMEL, mastermind of Iraq's military and civilian industries, and his brother Saddam Kamel, Saddam's chief bodyguard, fled to Jordan on August 8 with their wife, who are Saddam's daughters.

He said he fled because he opposed government policy which had led to the turmoil in Iraq. Iraq said he fled with \$35 million.

"This is what made me leave the country, the fact that Saddam Hussein surrounds himself with inefficient ministers and advisers who are not chosen for their competence but according to the whims of the Iraqi president."

"I have never regretted leaving Iraq. I am more confident than ever that my actions were justified."

Referring to human rights violations, Hussein Kamel said tor-

ture in Iraq has risen to a "brutal level that is unimaginable."

"I know of places where people were executed in the thousands. They were buried in mass graves," he added.

He called the setting alight of Kuwaiti oil wells during the Iraqi pullout from Kuwait "unacceptable sabotage. It was not an act of defense."

IN HIS book, *The Politics of Diplomacy*, Baker wrote that he delivered a message that Gen. Colin Powell had asked him to deliver. "If the conflict involves your use of chemical or biological weapons against our forces, the American people will demand vengeance. We have the means to exact it.... This is not a threat, it is a promise."

"If there is any use of weapons like that," Baker's book continues, "our objective won't just be the liberation of Kuwait, but the elimination of the current Iraqi regime, and anyone responsible for using those weapons would be held accountable."

The implication was a bluff. Baker relates, because President George Bush had decided that the US would not retaliate for the

use of chemical weapons with its own chemical weapons or with nuclear weapons.

Baker also writes that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein wrote a letter to Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani indicating that he planned to invade and conquer Saudi Arabia.

In the letter to Iran, Saddam referred to "our 840-kilometer seacoast," a new frontier reaching from Iraq to the United Arab Emirates.

Other points in the excerpts in *Newsweek* included:

- Baker offered to station US troops on Syria's Golan Heights, captured by Israel in the war of 1967, to guarantee the border between Israel and Syria if a peace treaty were negotiated.

- In response to a request from then-president Mikhail Gorbachev, Baker helped the Soviet Union get a loan from Saudi Arabia. "The Saudis later came through with a very generous \$4 billion line of credit."

- President Ronald Reagan's "foreign policy apparatus" was less effective than it should have been. "It was often a witches' brew of intrigue, elbows, egos and separate agendas.... I can't remember any extended period of time when someone in the national security cluster wasn't at someone else's throat."

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## A Palestinian state

THE details of the Oslo 2 agreement, to be signed tomorrow in Washington, are not yet known. To many, this secrecy is not only an irritating display of high-handedness and an insult to democratic procedures, but an indication that the government has made excessive concessions which it would rather not divulge until after the signing.

This suspicion was reinforced by yesterday's revelation that the 1,500 terrorists to be released immediately will include those involved in wounding (but not killing) Israelis - a far cry from the previous announcement that only elderly prisoners, women, minors, and prisoners with no Jewish blood on their hands would be freed. It is impossible not to recall the release of 1,150 terrorists a decade ago by then-defense minister Yitzhak Rabin, a move which brought on the intifada and caused numerous Jewish and Arab casualties.

But whether the details of the agreement address Israel's immediate concerns is far less pertinent than the fact that the process begun in Oslo two years ago is now going to be implemented. It is a process which inexorably leads to the creation of a Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, and the withdrawal of Israel to the 1949 armistice lines with perhaps minor adjustments.

Rabin still refers to the embryonic neighboring state as the Palestinian entity, and Yasser Arafat, playing along and repeating what his communications experts whisper in his ear before the cameras, still refers to a state as "a dream." But it is clear that what the Meretz members of the cabinet are saying out loud is what the whole government knows: to reach a final status agreement with the PLO, Israel will have to evacuate the territories and consent to a Palestinian state.

It is clear, too, where the borders of the state will be. After the conclusion of the negotiations in Taba, Rabin mentioned keeping "Jerusalem plus" within Israel's borders, and maintaining Israel's security border on the Jordan River. But it is doubtful that even this will be possible. Israel may seem to possess all the right cards, because it has all the material assets in these negotiations. As Foreign Minister Shimon Peres once put it, "There is no give and take in these negotiations. It is up to Israel to decide what it wants to give." But the PLO has the one card which beats all others: the Israeli hunger for an agreement at almost any price.

In his new year interviews, Rabin summed up his vision of the negotiations' outcome. Putting special emphasis on separation between Israelis and Palestinians, he said the Jewish towns and villages in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza are un-

helpful, because they cause "the mixing up of Israelis and Palestinians." This, he asserted, creates targets for terrorists. In fact, the greatest growth in terrorist activity in the past two years has occurred inside Israel.

But Rabin clearly believes that once the final status agreement is reached, it will be truly possible to separate Israel from the Palestinian state. "I look at separation as a goal to be achieved in the context of a permanent solution," he told *The Jerusalem Post*, referring to the fence around Gaza as a model for such a separation. What he obviously has in mind is a security fence which will provide the kind of protection from the Palestinian state that such fences now provide on the Syrian, Lebanese, Egyptian, and Jordanian borders.

But such a separation dictates the removal of 140,000 Jewish residents of the territories and the termination of Palestinian employment in Israel, and it does not resolve the problem of 150,000 Palestinian Arabs who live in Jerusalem and who can only be "separated" from Israel if the city is redivided. Moreover, the "mixing up" Rabin complains about exists, irretrievably, inside Israel, too.

Most striking about this scenario is that it is the exact opposite of Peres' "Benelux" dream, which envisions the eventual establishment of an Israel-Palestine-Jordan union where borders are virtually non-existent and the free movement of people and goods among member states is guaranteed. Perhaps Rabin, a military man, has greater respect for such realities as terrorist infiltrations and century-old enmities, which cannot be eliminated with a stroke of the pen.

But it is doubtful that a separation can work any better than a "Benelux." An irredentist, revanchist Palestinian state will not let a fence stand in the way of its terrorists, nor will it discourage the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs who claim the "right of return" to their ancestral homes in Israel.

Whatever the details of the agreement may be, the overriding fact is that the implementation of Oslo 2 signals the relinquishment of Israel's security control over the territories and the assumption of such control by the PLO. For the first time, there will be a large PLO army on the outskirts of Israel's major population centers, and it will be in control of strategic areas which dominate Israel's heartland. Soon, Israel will be able to control neither the influx of Palestinians from refugee camps in neighboring countries nor the importation of arms. To expect such an arrangement to bring anything but unrest, terrorism, and ultimately war, is to live in a world of make believe.

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## MEIR RUMEN OFS



"In Taba I established the Palestinian State..."

## 'It all hinges on resolve'

ZE'EV B. BEGIN

IT'S hard to believe, but some members of Labor still believe Mr. Rabin will realize their party's plan: the application of Israeli sovereignty to Jerusalem's environs, the Jordan Valley and the western hills of Samaria.

The trouble is that the premier himself believes this, which has led his diminished flock to act recently in a manner once described by the late Zalman Aranne: They follow Mr. Rabin with their eyes closed - but occasionally they open one eye, just to check he isn't walking with his eyes closed.

The gap between the Israel-PLO agreements and the Labor Party's official platform is wide, but the prime minister is certain he can bridge it with some linguistic tricks.

It has already been agreed that the PLO will gradually apply its jurisdiction over Judea and Samaria, except for its Jewish towns and villages, and locations Israel needs for its security.

How, then, will the Jordan valley remain under Israel's control? According to the Oslo agreement, Israeli armed forces are to be redeployed into specified locations, and the prime minister defines Western Samaria and the whole of the Jordan Valley as "specified locations."

Suppose Partner Arafat doesn't agree? Well then, the prime minister has explained, everything hinges on our resolve. It is instructive to trace the rapid disintegration of Mr. Rabin's interpretations of the agreements with the PLO.

The premier eagerly told the Israeli public that the Oslo agreement stated Israel would be able to preempt terrorist activity planned against it in Gaza and Jericho. He was certain he would be able to act in accordance with the article that says: "Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for Israel's overall security, for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security, and public order."

Mr. Rabin maintained that, according to the Cairo agreement, Arafat could be forced to extradite to Israel those suspected of perpetrating terror against it - not only for punishment, but first and foremost so they could be interrogated, and additional murders thwarted.

However, as we well know, the PLO hasn't extradited a single terrorist to Israel. The siege on Jericho, intended to enforce the extradition of murderers, concluded shamefully.

Recently Mr. Rabin again caved in to the PLO's interpretation of the agreement, and Arafat has been absolved. Why? Because "everything hinges on resolve."

On numerous occasions, the government declared that the implementation of Oslo 2 would entail assumption of power by the PLO in only the seven Arab cities in Samaria and Judea.

The agreement says: "Israel will be guided by the principle that its military forces be redeployed outside populated areas." The prime minister tried to restrict the term "populated areas" to cities alone.

This position too has evaporated. The PLO will assume its jurisdiction in the cities and in 460 towns and villages, before elections to the "Palestinian Authority" are held.

Thus was it recently agreed in the Taba Joint Statement, and so the problem has been "solved" - since "everything hinges on resolve."

A few months ago, a PLO leader explained how the ambiguity of the agreements with Israel serves the PLO. Ambiguous wording, said Abu Ala, means that the stronger party cannot prevail upon the weaker. And, indeed, Arafat has insinuated himself into every dark niche in the Hudaibiya-like agreements he signed with Israel.

Grim experience doesn't leave much room for hope on the part of Labor hawks that the Jordan Valley will be retained under Israeli control. The hawks base their hope on the premier's definition of the whole of the Jordan Valley as "a specified security location." When this position too disintegrates, it will, leave, in its wake thick dust, and grave danger.

While Mr. Rabin's positions go on eroding, Arafat is ever on the march. Last week, he told the Jordanian *Al-Dustour*: "I would like to remind you that in 1974, we came out with 10 points... We have done no more than execute what our Palestinian National Council decided upon in 1974..."

The PLO "plan of stages" is clearly being carried out now, with the consent of the Israeli government.

The writer is a Likud MK.

## Female fantasy

SUSAN REIMER

STEAL a glimpse into a woman's favorite daydream and you'll see her as she truly wants to be: off work for a month, her husband and kids mysteriously gone, moving from room to room in her house "getting organized."

In every woman's life, there is a closet, a room, or a whole floor that prevents her from feeling "organized." If only she could get organized, she thinks, she would be more organized.

A friend touched that place in me last week when she asked if I could watch her kids while she went to a "clutter workshop."

I jerked to attention. "You mean there is such a thing? Somebody else will have to watch all our kids. I need to go."

My husband wondered why I had to clutter our cluttered life with a clutter workshop, and he thought the whole idea was ridiculous. But we paid our registration fee, and entered a hotel ballroom filled with women just like us.

The woman next to me confessed that she couldn't bear to give her old magazines away, so she boxed them and carried them around to doctors' waiting rooms. I felt like I was at an AA meeting.

There were plenty of questions about how to be more organized at work - reports and sales meetings and contracts and clients - but I knew the truth of it.

These women - and only a handful of men - were there be-

## A clutter-free home, where everything has its place

cause their houses are cluttered, and everybody who lives in those houses with them expects them to do something about it. And all of them were overwhelmed by it.

Gaye Ann Lynch, who ran the workshop, warned us that we didn't get disorganized in three hours, and we wouldn't be able to get organized in three hours. There was no quick fix. Short of arson, I thought.

We would have to do the work ourselves. Make the tough decisions.

"Sixty to 90 percent of everything in our home is clutter," Lynch said. "It is something we can do without."

Organization has nothing to do with having a clean house, she said. It has to do with access and control, with being able to find what you want when you want it, without having a fight with your husband, who sits there like a lump, and won't help you look.

Take one room at a time, Lynch said. I thought of my dining room. It contains a table and six chairs and nothing else, and I have begun a thousand organizing campaigns with that room, and never gone further.

Attack each room with four boxes. A small box for items that belong somewhere else, a bigger box for items to be stored, a still bigger box for items to be given away, and the biggest box for items to toss. Make a list of everything you realize you have to do now that you've started this.

The clutter workshops distributed to us - which have since joined the other clutter on my desk - contained some oddball suggestions: Keep a box of junk you don't want by the front door, and offer it to guests as they leave. (This might also remove some of the friends cluttering up your life.) Have a trade party: Get together with friends, and swap junk you don't need for junk they don't need. This struck me as a zero-sum game.

AFTER THE conference, a group of us retreated to the hotel bar, where we cluttered up our daily caloric intake for the day, and confessed our messiest secrets.

Rose said she puts all her mail in a giant bag, then sorts through it every so often for bills. Diane said she bought a thing for sorting mail and bills, but has never used it.

Patty said her house wouldn't be so cluttered if her husband would stop doing things like buying fruits and vegetables he feels sorry for. "Everything has a place in my house," said Sandy, "but I have five sons, and everything keeps coming out of its place."

That is the truth of it, I thought. We could all reduce the clutter in our lives, if only that clutter didn't have two legs, an appetite and need a kiss before sleeping.

(Baltimore Sun)

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### THE COST OF DENTAL TREATMENT

Sir, - I was both amused and angered to read *Outraged's* letter of September 1, "The cost of dental treatment."

First of all the example the writer gave of a large price differential between East and West Jerusalem was not for dental treatment but for a panoramic radiograph. This is done at a dental radiographic center and not at a dental clinic. As a dentist, I am not qualified to comment on what the correct cost should be for such a procedure, which would need to be based on many factors including initial investment costs for the equipment, cost of radiographic materials, rent, salaries, patient flow, etc. However, an educated guess would be that the NIS 120 rate would be much closer to the necessary price than NIS 25.

As a dentist who has been practicing in this country for 11 years, I feel I am qualified to comment on the statements in the second paragraph of the letter. It is very true that a great percentage of the population do not go to the dentist regularly. This is not due to the "prohibitive costs of such a visit." It is because of the low dental IQ of the general population. The saying that an "ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," fits the dental profession perfectly. The proper way to care for one's teeth is to go for periodic checkups. The recommended time period is once every six months. An individual who does this will find that, in addition to maintaining good dental health by treating problems early, he will save a lot of money in the long term by preventing the need for costly treatments like root-canal therapy and prosthetic work.

### ILL-ADVISED APPOINTMENT

Sir, - I write in response to the appointment of our first Arab citizen (Ali Adeb Yitayia) to represent Israel at the ambassadorial level (in Finland).

It is plainly absurd to believe that an Israeli Arab can be expected by Israeli Jews to loyally represent the Jewish State, any more than a Jewish resident of Judea or Samaria

Prices of dental treatment, like the prices of any service, are dependent on the costs of doing business, otherwise known as overhead. In the dental profession these costs are quite high, which leads to the prices that the writer perceives as outrageous. They are not. If anything, the prices are too low to allow the use of more sophisticated and expensive equipment and materials which are changing the face of dentistry in the Western world.

D.C.  
(Name and address supplied)  
Petah Tikva.

Sir, - "Outraged" writes that due to the "prohibitive costs," he can only afford dental treatment in times of emergency. As a dentist, I would say that the real reason is not the cost but fear. (After all, apartments and cars are very expensive in Israel, yet people still buy them.) In this, "Outraged" is not alone; at least 30 percent of the population suffer from the problem of fear as well.

As a medic, "Outraged" says he spent many years in the reserves and was appalled by the poor dental health of the recruits. As a dentist, I actually treated them. My enquiries revealed that the neglect was mainly due to ignorance and again, fear.

Youth have other priorities - fashionable clothes and CDs for example.

I must correct another serious error in the letter. Dentists in Israel are not educated at taxpayers' expense. They have to find their own money. (It starts at school. Ask any parent.) Any loans received must be repaid.

Dr. G.G. (Dentist)  
(Name and address supplied)  
Tel Aviv.

### NEW YORK BOARD OF RABBIS

Sir, - *The Jerusalem Post* of August 29 brought with it the agonizing news that a coterie of six American rabbis, representing the New York Board of Rabbis, arrived in Israel to proclaim their solidarity with the government's pursuit of peace with the Arabs. I consider this a dastardly betrayal of the millennia-long hopes, aspirations and prayers of the Jewish people. This is unprecedented. We are not dealing with political figures who practice the art of realpolitik. We are faced by a group of rabbis who should know the excruciating pains and frightening persecutions and prosecutions and the oceans of tears with which the Jewish people had to contend during their long exile in the Diaspora. They have the audacity and the hubris to come from their wealthy pulpits to tell us here that we must remain sitting ducks for bombs, knives and guns.

As stated, the New York Board of Rabbis consists of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbis. I do not pretend to speak for the Conservative and Reform elements - although I'm not convinced that these shades of Judaism are in favor of the peace treaty; however, in the area of Orthodox rabbis and laymen, there is no sliver of doubt in my mind that the overwhelming majority of these Jews in Israel and in America are vehemently opposed to the strategy of the present government in Israel. A number of polls that were taken recently substantiate this appraisal. When two Orthodox American rabbis come to Israel for a three-day period and instruct us what we should do and what we should not do, it is of no consequence to us.

A number of years ago, the most prominent yeshiva heads in America urged the Orthodox rabbis not to join with the Conservative and Reform rabbis. At that time, I was not in favor of that proposal. Has the time come when I should re-evaluate and revise my position?

Rabbi ABRAHAM CHILL,  
Past President, Rabbinical Council of America in Israel  
Jerusalem.

## Anguish and an alien airliner

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

THE mother of missing navigator Ron Arad, taken prisoner in Lebanon in 1986 after his plane was shot down, made a well-publicized and rather embarrassing speech to the passengers of the Iranian plane hijacked to Israel last week.

She appealed to them to approach their government on the matter of her son, even though she must have known that dictators such as Iran pay no heed to humanitarian appeals by their citizens - especially citizens who do not belong to the ruling cast, and who might, in this case, be in trouble with the authorities as a result of their brief sojourn in this country.

There are still tens of thousands of Iranian soldiers missing since the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War. The hapless passengers aboard the Iranian airliner must have treated the appeal for one Israeli navigator, who might or might not have been brought to Iran, as something of a bad joke.

It's hard not to sympathize with the Arads. It must be unbelievably difficult to have to live with so much uncertainty, with the frequent swings from hope to despair. Can one blame any family in such a situation for wanting to turn the whole world upside down for the smallest snippet of information about the fate of its loved one?

This doesn't mean, however, that the family should always get its way, fully supported by the government and the media, especially when it loses all sense of proportion and good taste, and, in its anguish, begins to level irresponsible and totally false accusations.

Arad's mother made two such accusations last week. The first was that "Nothing has been done

was a calculated security risk: whether to let the plane land in Israel, saving the lives of Iranian civilians on board. The second decision was whether to try and use the situation in an attempt to further various Israeli interests vis-à-vis Iran.

Arad's fate is only one of several issues Israel would like to raise with the Iranians. And much as one might wish to see the navigator home again alive and well, other issues are more vital to Israel.

One is the prospect of Iran acquiring a nuclear capability and the means of delivering non-conventional warheads. Another is Iranian support for Hizballah and other fundamentalist terrorist organizations.

And yet, Mrs. Arad's accusations notwithstanding, Rabin and his advisers did not fail to take the Arad issue into consideration during their process of deciding what to do with the Iranian plane. The decision not to use the plane and its passengers as pawns had nothing to do with lack of concern for Arad.

It seems that two factors tipped the scales on the issue.

Israel, a state which has always been on the front line of the war against air piracy, couldn't afford to do anything other than release a hijacked plane unconditionally. Even if Israel had decided that circumstances warranted trying to take political advantage of the situation, it first had to verify whether there was anyone aboard the plane important enough to get the Iranians to divulge any information they might have on Arad. There was no such prominent passenger on board.

Israel still doesn't know whether the Iranians have any information about Arad's whereabouts, or even whether he is still alive.

AFTER IT was announced that the hijacked plane was heading for Israel, Yitzhak Rabin had two difficult decisions to make. The first

The writer is a political scientist.

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## Fault Lines

# The Big One: Washington's Political Earthquake

## Seismic Shift In the Parties Reflects View On Business

By DAVID E. SANGER

**A**S Newt Gingrich's army of anti-regulatory troops tore through the Capitol last week, terminating bureaucracy and welfare benefits with extreme prejudice, and even threatening to default on United States bonds if that's what it takes to force the Clinton Administration to cut the budget their way, there was a temptation to stick familiar labels on the combatants.

Certainly liberals are among those appalled at the depth of cuts in Medicare, and conservatives are happily at work opening up Federal lands to loggers and slicing the Commerce Department into a half-dozen pieces. But using the old labels obscures a newer fault line running through Washington. More than ever the struggles between Democrats and Republicans — and some of those between Republicans and Republicans — have far more to do with the divergent interests of big and small business.

Ever since Bill Clinton came to office, he has done more for the Fortune 500 than virtually any other President in this century — making trade the No. 1 priority by, for example, pressing the North American Free Trade Agreement into enactment over the objections of labor, or opening up relations with Vietnam before every rice field around Saigon sports its own Japanese factory.

In contrast, the new Republican revolution — even more than the Reagan Revolution of more than a decade ago — belongs to small business, the disaffected and the thou-

## Clinton soothed the Fortune 500; the new Republican revolution won over Main Street.

sands upon thousands who have become involuntary entrepreneurs after being laid off or bought out. Their agenda is championed by Mr. Gingrich and many newcomers in the House Republican majority that was swept into power last year. What sets this aggressively activist class of freshmen Republicans apart is their roots on Main Street: Nearly 60 of them grew up in business, mostly small business, and think that most "business-government partnerships" excluded them.

In some ways they bring to mind the Republican constituency of William Howard Taft, who was famously rude to big-business executives who came to his door (his half-brother had to caution the President that he was giving affront to "all our friends") but rarely met a tariff he didn't like. That was an era, like today, when business seemed so reflexively Republican that there was little danger in going populist.

"There is this traditional cleavage within the Republicans that goes back to the beginning of the century," said Michael R. Beschloss, the presidential historian. "And over the past decade, as the Republicans have moved more and more to the right, the pragmatic, moderate executives of big firms are not sure where to go. On some issues the dividing line is not always that sharp, but there are a lot of strange splits and new alliances. And big business is still struggling with the fact that Bill Clinton is the first President who has pushed hard on the issues that are important to them, and understands economic realities of the world in a way no Republican President has."

That hardly means that big business is suddenly the Democratic Party's best friend, or even that the change in alliances is likely to have much electoral resonance. After beating down the doors in China and Japan, promoting free trade pacts in Asia and Latin America and opening a "war room" that uses the power of the United States Government to win contracts for American business around the world, the White House's frustration is palpable. "It's incredible," said a Clinton political adviser. "They all tell us we've done a great job,

Continued on page 4



It was a dark and stormy day for Democrats defending Medicare: on Friday, denied a hearing room inside, they moved outdoors.



Also outside the Capitol, elderly voters joined Senator Harry Reid, a Nevada Democrat, in protesting proposed cuts.

## The Social Engineers Let Welfare Go Unfixed

By MICHAEL WINES

**E**IGHTY-SEVEN of the Congress's 100 Senators voted last week to abandon 30 years of Federal welfare policy for an untested and drastically different alternative, a stampede that would be historic enough were it all that happened. It wasn't. Three of every four Democrats, 33 in all, joined in scrapping a system their party had invented, nurtured, expanded — and declined to reform as recently as last year. That opportunity lost, they have now acceded to what had been unthinkable: the end of the very entitlement that guarantees Federal aid to the poor.

So begins the final journey of the Great Society, with Lyndon Johnson's political progeny clambering aboard a bandwagon they could have steered but chose not to. It is unlikely to be a one-time event.

Republicans will reap the credit or blame for dismantling the Federal social bureaucracy that began with the New Deal. But Democrats, by failing to keep vigil over programs that did not change with the times, let its foundation crack. The new Congress is merely the demolition crew.

In the last week alone, House committees voted to end the Federal entitlement for Medicaid, the Johnson-era health program for the poor, and reduce the earned income tax credit, a Carter Administration anti-poverty venture. Congress is disassembling the Legal Services Corporation, cutting Head Start, reducing funds for public broadcasting and the arts and paring or abolish-

## The flaws grew with the programs. Then the G.O.P. demolition crew arrived.

ing other Democratic legacies. In most cases, charges of waste and mismanagement are the pile-drivers sinking the pillars of Republican ideology.

Those charges have been especially damaging for welfare programs whose beneficiaries are not so politically powerful and, to listen to the Republicans in their shrillest moments, not so deserving. But some more popular programs were hardly exempt. Republicans began a major overhaul last week of Medicare, warning that it, too, is riddled with waste and careening toward bankruptcy.

They may be right. Some of these programs are no doubt rotten ideas, poorly executed. Others were good ideas poorly executed, and still others good and reasonably effective government. In a way, it hardly matters. All were part of a guileless effort to remake society that began as a revolution and became the status quo. A transformed economy, cultural upheavals and the Democrats' reluctance to adapt their own shopworn ideology seem to have laid them all bare to counter-revolution.

"We blew it," one icon of the era, Mario M. Cuomo of New York, said in a recent interview. "We were in power for a long period of time. We didn't correct ourselves. We didn't sharpen our agenda. We didn't stay up to date. And we paid the price."

Isabel Sawhill, a scholar at the Urban Institute, suggests that Gresham's Law is at work — that bad Democratic management has finally driven out basically good policy.

Welfare is the showcase example. The basic subsidy, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, was begun to assist the children of widows and other victims of circumstance in the Depression. As recently as 1960 it remained so, serving only 745,000 families at a cost of about \$1 billion a year. By the 1980's, it had clearly become inadequate. Industry rose; subsistence farming shrank; blacks and other poor streamed to cities. President Kennedy's first Congress let states broaden A.F.D.C. The Supreme Court barred states from denying benefits to classes of recipients, such as families newly moved to another state. Food stamps

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# The World

## A Cycle of War and Illusion

By ROGER COHEN

**O**UR whole life is now a vast dying," the Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža wrote in 1917, lamenting that everything was "entangled in our own lies." Almost eight decades later, the dying in the Balkans continues, fed by the latest crop of fears, feuds, myths and half-truths.

With the 42-month-old Bosnian war now poised between resolution and redoubled conflict, a lucid appreciation of this continuity of Balkan violence during the 20th century appears particularly crucial. The present is too raw: it offers no deep solutions. Rather, it is the whole bungled, bloody history of Yugoslavia since its formation in 1918 that the United States must somehow confront, weigh and balance in order to impose a reasonable compromise and a basis for reconstruction.

"This Balkan guest house opened in 1918," Atif Dudakovic, commander of the Bosnian army's V Corps, said recently. "And now the time has come for everyone to pay their bills." It was his newly invigorated V Corps that last week underscored the often circular nature of Balkan violence, pushing toward the Serb-held Bosnian towns of Prijedor and Banja Luka with the support of Croatian troops, and sending over 50,000 Serbs into flight.

### Fortunes Change

The towns have great symbolic, as well as strategic, value. At the start of the Bosnian war, in 1992, Serbian forces evicted and killed Muslims with particular ferocity in Banja Luka and Prijedor, in the northwest. Over 75,000 Muslim civilians and many Croats were forced out. Thus the sight today of Banja Luka awash in Serbian refugees fleeing Muslim soldiers is profoundly indicative of the war's changed course.

Midway between Banja Luka and Prijedor lies Omarska, where the Serbs ran a bestial camp of torture and murder that will take its modest place in the catalogue of this century's horrors.

But in this region where history is deeply selective and enormously potent, the Serbs of Banja Luka and Prijedor have other, quite distinct memories that were stirred by their enemies' advance. The Serbian psyche of northwestern Bosnia edited out the slaughter of 1992. Instead, it reached back more than 50 years to the genocidal onslaught by Croatian Ustashe forces on the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia during World War II.

The extent of this genocide has been much debated. Croatia's President, Franjo Tudjman, has suggested 80,000 Serbs died — a figure most historians dismiss as insultingly low. The most reliable estimates suggest that about 300,000 Serbs were killed.

What is clear is that Jasenovac, an Ustashe camp north of Prijedor, was the most murderous site, where Serbs were sometimes axed or stabbed to death after having their eyes gouged out. It is no coincidence, then, that when Croatian forces pushed over the Una River last week into Serb-held Bosanska Dubica, midway between Prijedor and Jasenovac, accounts abounded among the Serbs of eyes being gouged out by "the Ustashe."

This is the deeper truth of the Balkans, the truth forged by uncontrolled fear, ghoulish myth and tribal memory. The truth that has created Croatian "Ustashe," Muslim "fundamentalists" and Serbian "Chetniks" from people who had been neighbors. It is this vicious web that the Clinton Administration has taken upon itself to unravel by at last taking the lead to seek peace.

On the surface, that quest advanced last week. Intense pressure from the United States, and a stirring of Serb resistance, stopped the Croatian and Bosnian advance west of Banja Luka. This left Bosnia divided 50-50 between the Serbs and the Muslim-Croat federation — the ratio broadly envisaged in an international plan for peace.

### History Is Manipulated

Certainly, there has never before been such momentum toward a resolution or such deep American interest in finding one. But much could still go wrong. The Serbs may choose to counterattack; the Bosnian army may decide that the war, now swinging its way, is worth pursuing. On a deeper level, the truth may remain obscure, making further conflict almost inevitable. For this war, at its heart, has been fought through attempts to reinvent, change and obscure history in order to justify killing and destruction. Each side, in varying degrees, has scoured and twisted the past in order to grab what it could. This search has been particularly frenzied because the long postwar Communist rule of Yugoslavia was in itself an exercise in distorting history in order to preserve power and unity.

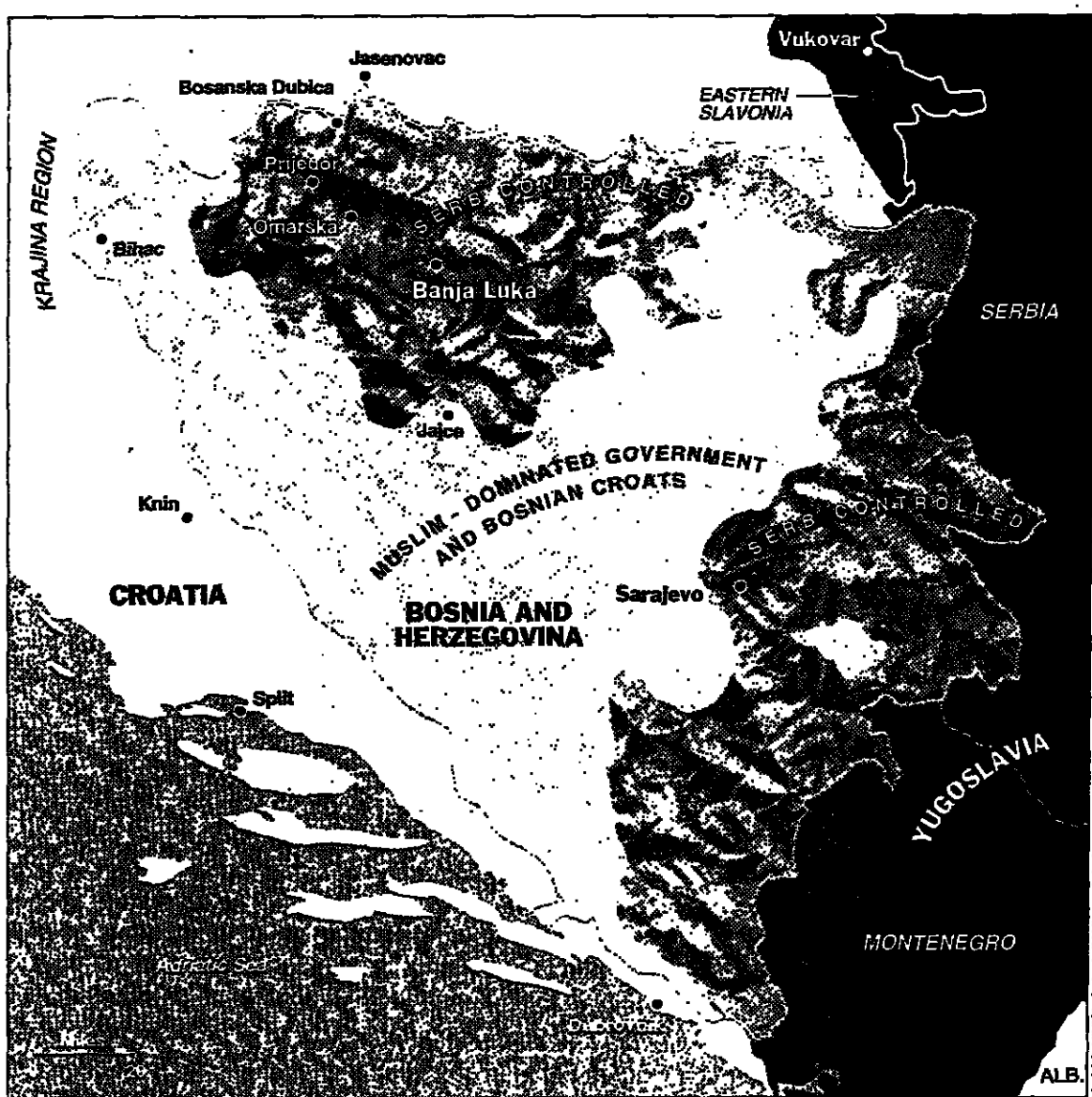
Thus, in Banja Luka itself, the Serbs have razed the beautiful Ferhadiya Mosque, built in 1579 by Ferhad Pasha Sokolovic, the nephew of

### Ebb and Flow in the Balkans

**FEBRUARY 1993** In Croatia, Croatian Serbs aided by the Serb-led Yugoslav army have taken control of the Krajina region. Bosnian Serbs, also with Yugoslav backing, have seized more than half of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Scores of towns — notably around Banja Luka — have been "cleansed" of Muslims in a Serb campaign of killing, torture and rape. Bosnia's capital, Sarajevo, is under siege and is without regular shipments of food or medical supplies.



**SEPTEMBER 1995** The tide has seemingly turned against the Serbs, and this time it is they who are beleaguered in their stronghold, Banja Luka. Croatia, having refitted its army and regained almost all of the territory within its own borders it had lost in 1991, joins the Bosnian Government in an offensive in Bosnia that coincides with a NATO decision to bomb Serb forces to relieve Sarajevo. Serb forces melt, and they retreat toward Banja Luka, along with tens of thousands of Serb refugees in flight from towns in western and central Bosnia.



a Serb who converted to Islam after the Ottoman Turkish invasion. The aim of this and many similar acts is clear: destroy evidence of an eclectic past in Bosnia to justify a drive for ethnically pure Serb land.

Similarly, the long Serbian bombardment of Sarajevo has often appeared to be an attempt to obliterate the city's overwhelming testimony to Bosnia's past of intermingled religions and cultures. The destruction of the National Museum and the city's rich library amount, in essence, to an attempt to say the past does not exist.

Before Sarajevo, in 1991, came the Serbian destruction of Vukovar, one of the most ethnically mixed and beautiful towns in Croatia. Today, Vukovar still lies in ruins, its battered water tower looming over the rubble like a gruesome sentry.

At the entrance to the town there is a new sign saying, "All you need for funerals here." It seems to sum up the deadliness of an attempt to forge a Serbian city from a town whose history is one of rich Austro-Hungarian miscegenation, just as Sarajevo's destruction suggests the impossibility of somehow making part of Bosnia's capital purely Serb.

The Croats have also tried hard to bend history their way. The founding of Yugoslavia in 1918 left them with an overwhelming grudge: the sense that rather than having secured a liberation from empire they had instead exchanged centuries of Aus-

tro-Hungarian rule for domination by the Serbian monarchy in Belgrade. This was the source of the fratricidal rage that exploded during World War II.

This rage persists at some levels. Over the last four years, the Croats have blown up Orthodox monasteries and destroyed memorials to Serbs who died in World War II. The museum of Jasenovac itself has been ransacked and lies in ruins: its abandon seems to reflect President Tudjman's argument that the killing there has been exaggerated.

The Muslims have focused their tinkering with history on the argument that Bosnia is a millennial state. It is not, any more than Serbia or Croatia, whose emergence as modern states date respectively from 1878 and 1991. But it is a millennial society, the exotic fruit of its many conquests. That society is a mixed one, irrevocably so.

### Some Facts Remain

Amid all these manipulations, there are a few facts. The south Slavs are ethnically indistinguishable and speak broadly the same language. After centuries of imperial domination, Yugoslavia was an effort to group them all — Catholic Croats, Orthodox Serbs, Bosnian Muslims and others — in one country and so settle the jumbled legacy of Ottoman and Austrian rule.

The attempt failed. But, one way

or another, these people are condemned to try to overcome the specters that now savagely divide them, in order to live together. They cannot be permanently divided because their history — beyond all its violence — ties them together. Indeed, the attempt to destroy history is an attempt to hide that basic fact.

It is here, it seems, that the greatest challenge to the United States lies. The failing of Europe in the last four years has made it clear that American leadership in the Balkans is irreplaceable. So America is being called on to secure a peace, guarantee it with troops and cast enough light on the past in order to build the future. It worked in Germany and Japan. It might work in Bosnia.

Why risk American lives to do so? One answer might be that it was the Wilsonian principle of self-determination for the south Slavs that brought Yugoslavia into being and the Bush Administration's inattention that helped destroy it. The United States was in at the birth and absent at the death of that state.

"The Secret of Redemption is Remembrance," says the sign at the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem. Remembrance, clear and unadorned, is perhaps the least the United States could offer the war-ravaged people of the Balkans if it were there to sift through the wreckage. For without remembrance, a further gyre of violence seems likely.



Alongside India's political cynicism, chronic need persists. In New Delhi, women break up clay pots in a protest against water shortages.

## India Repels an Invasion of Money

By JOHN F. BURNS

NEW DELHI

**T**O Indians reading about her in the country's newspapers and magazines, Rebecca P. Mark has hardly been presented as a friend of India. Ms. Mark has been widely cast here as a robber baron for her role in winning the Enron Development Corporation, a subsidiary of the Houston-based energy company, a contract to build India's largest-ever power plant. After Enron had spent nearly \$300 million, the project was canceled last month by nationalist politicians in Maharashtra state who said India didn't need the plant.

So when Ms. Mark left her New Delhi hotel on a recent afternoon to visit the India Gate, a soldiers' memorial that is one of the capital's principal landmarks, it was a surprise to find her surrounded by well-wishers. One man, Rakesh Aggarwal, a New Delhi lawyer sightseeing with his family, put it simply: "Personally, I think India needs power."

### American Assumptions

There is a lesson in this for American companies, and for all outsiders approaching India as it reaches for a new relationship with the world. Many companies responding to India's market-based economic reforms have behaved as if they had read a standard primer on India — a country that is desperately poor, 60 percent illiterate, but unusual among Asian nations in being a thriving democracy, having English as its common language and a proven legal system. From this, they have assumed a congenial environment for investment.

But these companies, and sometimes the embassies that advise them, have not always taken account of how aspects of India that seem so familiar can work in ways that are not so friendly. In the face of Enron's problems, there are many with long experience of India who say that it is a major mistake to underestimate the willingness of politicians here to resort to demagoguery to stir passions — a fear of foreign depredations, for example — that are part of the emotional and psychological archaeology of India. When this happens, foreign companies that were welcome one moment can find themselves pariahs the next.

When Enron was invited to build a power plant by the Indian Government three years ago, it agreed against a background of crippling power shortages. Almost every day, airports and railways shut down when power goes out; factories juggle working hours around the vagaries of electricity, sometimes managing only one dead-of-the-night shift. And in the shantytowns where nearly half the population of the big cities live, the only power available is whatever slum-dwellers can bootleg by stringing makeshift connections onto high-voltage lines, with consequences fatal to thousands.

Last week, Maharashtra invited Enron to send executives here to renegotiate its contract. But if the company agrees, it will effectively be accepting sharply reduced profitability as a lesser evil to a drawn-out court fight for compensation. And it will be re-cutting its deal with Maharashtra without much support from the New Delhi Government that invited it in the first place. Since Maharashtra reneged, the Government of Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao has gone ominously quiet, apparently judging that the nationalists have the winds of public favor.

Enron's Ms. Mark is not the only American executive who proselytized for India, only to have to face a corporate board at home wanting to know what went wrong. Two weeks ago, it was the ruin of Kentucky Fried Chicken, whose first restaurant in India, in Bangalore, was closed by city authorities, then reopened by a court order, after opponents accused it of exposing customers to cancer and other ailments allegedly linked to the company's chicken formula.

If investing in India were to be judged by the common man's good will, it wouldn't be so pretty. In a country where so many millions are officially listed as living below the poverty line, every foreign company that sets up its stall is inundated with people hoping for work. But the politicians on all sides have virtually ignored such obvious benefits. With a national election to fight next spring, the Hindu nationalist parties that control the Maharashtra government brushed aside expert studies on the Enron project — along with 13 court rulings in Enron's favor — when it scrapped it.

To many Indians, the Enron fiasco has been a sobering demonstration of how ready politicians on all sides have become to shun the country's obvious needs in favor of approaches that seek to capture large "vote banks" by stirring destructive passions. Before foreign investment was an issue, the most promising field for the demagogues to work lay along the fault lines in Indian society, the

### Why politicians want Americans to take their business elsewhere.

fractures of caste and ethnicity and religion. Before Enron, Maharashtra's Hindu nationalists had grown powerful by fomenting anti-Muslim passions, culminating three years ago in riots in which at least 1,200 Muslims died.

For many years, the secular tradition of the Congress Party, the party of Nehru and his descendants, surmounted India's divisions. But in the 1980's the party sank to new lows in popular support, and with Mr. Rao in charge it has pandered to Hindu extremism and "caste-ism" and, worse, has become almost a byword for corruption.

To many Indians who despair of this cynicism, the best hope for a political rebirth lies in economic reforms — the hope that the Rao Government has set in train a process under which entrepreneurship, and not political or bureaucratic favor, will become the final arbiter of wealth — and that, if poverty and illiteracy decline, so will the potential for corruption and demagoguery.

But all this could be jarred if the forces that derailed Enron continue to gain momentum. There are Indians who believe that even the project's cancellation can work to India's benefit. "All you have to do is talk to the average taxi driver," said Rajendra K. Pachauri, an energy economist and one of the experts who reviewed the Enron project. "Whatever the politicians say, he understands one thing very clearly, that India has at last entered an era of economic possibility. He sees a chance for himself, and he has no intention of allowing any politician or bureaucrat to deny it to him."

مكتبة ابن الجوزي



## The Nation

# Acquire, Merge or Get Out of the Way

By JUDITH H. DOBRZYNSKI

Just do it. Don't just stand there, do something. It's easier to get forgiveness than permission. Change or die. Carpe diem.

THEY are T-shirt slogans, marketing tools and exhortations from the self-help industry, and many Americans live by them. Corporate executives do, too, although they tend more toward jargon like "a bias toward action."

That drive to do something, do anything, is partly behind this year's deal mania, which has Westinghouse agreeing to purchase CBS, Disney buying Capital Cities/ABC, Time Warner acquiring Turner

the Aspen Institute.

Many of those chief executives also have faced complaints about performance, management style or stock price — at a time when expectations for C.E.O.'s are higher than ever. "When you get to be a C.E.O., people expect you to make grand moves," Mr. O'Toole said. "They're paying you a lot of money, and this is a way to strut your stuff. A lot of deals are a substitute for hard, day-to-day management of a company."

### Seduced by Boldness

The funny thing is, a deal does deflect criticism. Often, the company's stock price goes up. Seduced by the boldness of a move, and wanting to believe in its purported brilliance, Wall Street rewards the chief executive or at least cuts him some slack.

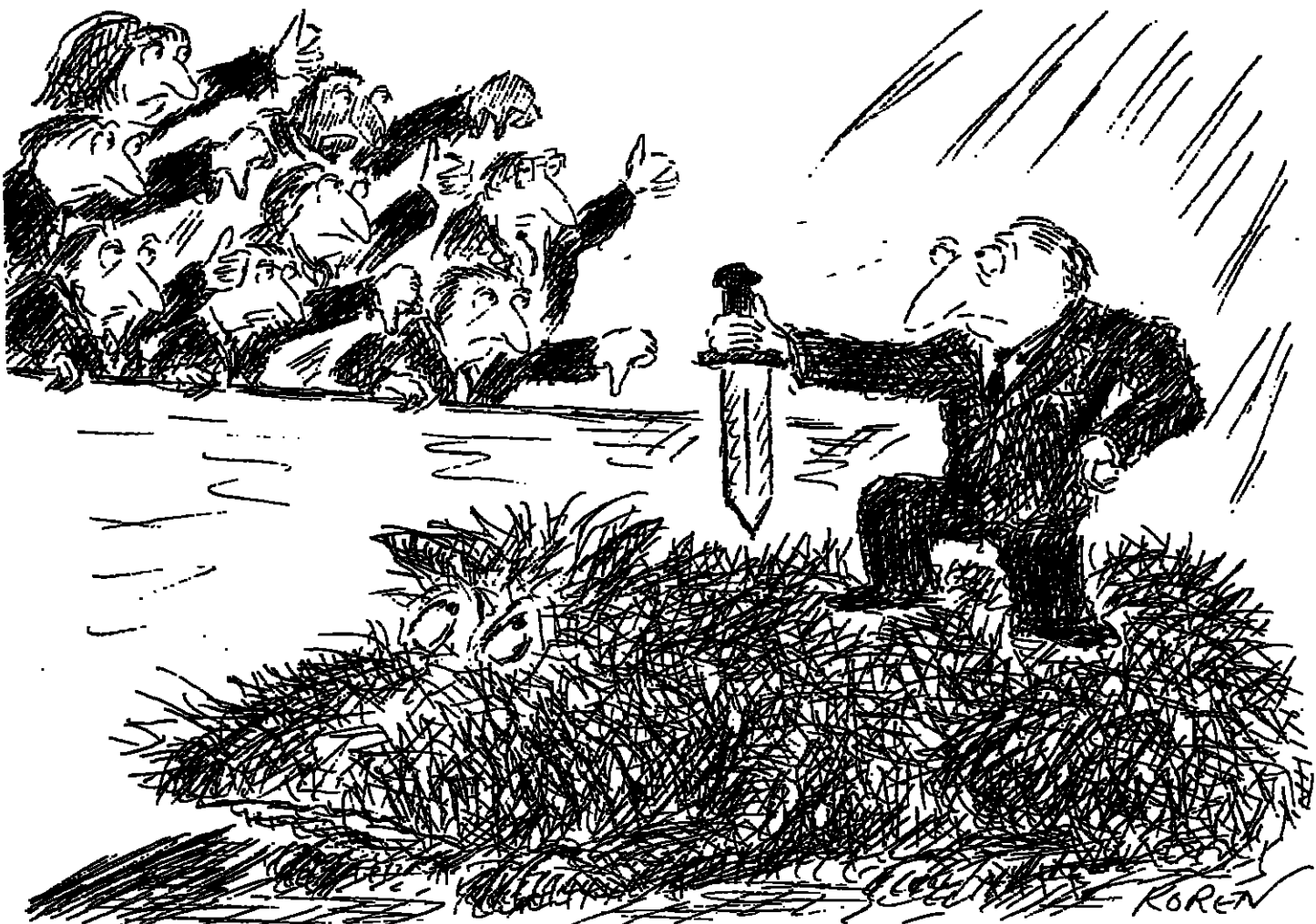
"It buys you time, makes you look forceful, makes you look like a visionary," Mr. O'Toole said. "That's not all of it but it's part of it."

These gambits work, too, because vision is in such short supply. "I can't recall a time when there has been so much turbulence and uncertainty about what will happen," said Warren Bennis, the author of several books on leadership. "No one can clearly articulate a vision, and in lieu of vision they are buying things and selling things."

Of course synergy, the holy grail of all mergers, the promise that two companies together will be greater than the sum of their parts, usually does not materialize.

No matter. "The big gesture makes the headlines, but the fact that it is not getting performance afterwards doesn't usually make the headlines," Mr. O'Toole said. But as word seeps out that the grand strategy is failing to meet its promise, the market loses faith. The stock price falls, setting the stage for yet another bold move.

AT&T has clearly played the role. In 1991, Mr. Allen bought NCR Corporation, a computer maker, on the theory that computers and communications were becoming interdependent. Instead, AT&T mismanaged the business and lost billions of dollars. A half-



Ed Koren

billion went down the drain this year — just as price wars were hurting AT&T's long-distance profits. The stock price dropped.

So Mr. Allen has reversed course. In hopes that the pieces will be more manageable, and better understood by investors, he is breaking the company into a long-distance telephone company, a communications equipment company and a slimmed-down computer maker.

### Yearning for Breakups

The market has rejoiced. Analysts and investors know that mergers often fail, but they still like big restructurings and breakups result in more focused companies. AT&T's stock price leaped \$6.125, or 11 percent, on Mr. Allen's news.

Yet restructurings can also fail. "I'm not convinced," said James Champy, author of "Reengineering the Corporation." "Per-

formance may not improve because you have not changed the fundamental strategy or competitiveness. All this is based on a hope and prayer that the same managers in a different place will perform differently."

Even fans of Mr. Allen's attempt to make AT&T more manageable wonder about his motivation. "It looked as if everyone was expecting him to pull a rabbit out of a hat," said G. Bennett Stewart 3d, senior partner at Stern Stewart & Co. "The question is whether AT&T would have done this if there were no debacle in computers."

Oddly, some of the people who have applauded the AT&T breakup also have liked Disney's \$19 billion purchase of Capital Cities/ABC, which was founded on the same notion behind AT&T's failed acquisition of NCR — that the communications, information technology, media and entertainment businesses are all converging. Michael Eisner, the chief executive, believes that

Disney will thrive by owning as many channels of distribution (TV stations) and as many "content providers" (music and movie production companies) as possible.

Like Mr. Allen, Mr. Eisner may be afflicted by the action syndrome. "I think he felt he had to do something to counter the lousy press he was getting," Mr. Bennis said.

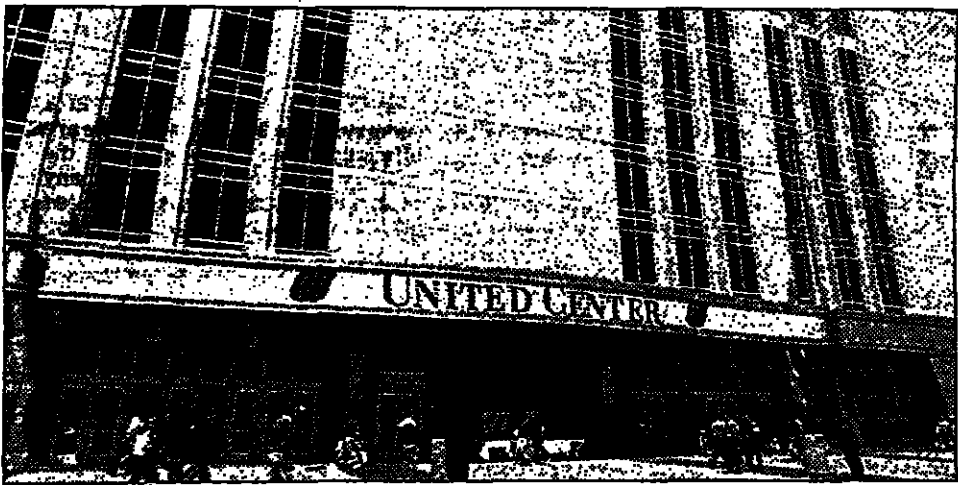
Many chief executives insist that they would rather not make deals; they would rather just concentrate on increasing corporate profits. Still, one chief executive is often impelled by the actions of another. Witness what happened after the Disney deal: Time Warner's Gerald M. Levin moved on Turner to outdo Mr. Eisner and once again head the world's biggest media company.

And the markets, shareholders and the public encourage it. "It's all a part of being entertained, and the titillation we expect," Mr. O'Toole said. "When Michael Eisner acquires ABC, it's entertainment."

Broadcasting and Chemical Bank and Chase Manhattan merging.

And now, AT&T is splitting itself into three pieces. Its move follows ITT's decision to divide in three and General Motors' plan to spin off its Electronic Data Systems unit.

No doubt, Robert E. Allen, the chief executive of AT&T, and all the other corporate chieftains, have business reasons for their deals. But "that is not all that is in the decision," said James O'Toole, who just left his job as the executive director of the University of Southern California's Leadership Institute to become a vice president at



Jonathan Daniel/Allsport

The United Center in Chicago, where the Bulls play and airline tickets are sold.

## Quick: What Do They Play at 3Com?

By ADAM BRYANT

AS sports-trivia questions go, this is a fat one down the middle: What is the name of the San Francisco stadium that is home to the baseball Giants and the football 49ers?

Candlestick Park, you say? Actually, that was a curve. It is 3Com Park, now that the 3Com Corporation, a computer data networking company in Santa Clara, Calif., paid the city to use its name for the stadium, rather than the one chosen in 1959 by fans logically inspired by Candlestick Point, on which the park was built.

And so The 'Stick — er, 3Com Park — joins the growing number of arenas and stadiums whose names have gone corporate. And gone is the resonance of names that were the tuning forks of sports history: Ebbets Field, the Polo Grounds.

They have been replaced, thanks in large part to some me-too marketing by the nation's airlines, with the United Center in Chicago, the Delta Center in Salt Lake City, the America West Arena in Phoenix, the USAir Arena in Landover, Md., and coming soon, the Trans World Dome in St. Louis.

### The Money Bowl

There is also the Target Center in Minneapolis, the RCA Dome in Indianapolis, the Great Western Forum in Los Angeles, and Boston teams will soon be playing at the Fleet Center. Pepsi will see its name on a new arena being built in Denver.

And now there is talk of building new stadiums for the Mets and Yankees. Maybe AT&T, which said last week that it would break into smaller pieces, will pay to name one of them the Divestiture Dome.

The driving force behind this trend is, naturally, money. Nowadays it is more often private investors rather than governments who lead efforts to build new arenas. And a guaranteed, multi-year contract worth millions of dollars from a corporate sponsor can be a big help to arena planners when they ask bankers for a loan to build in the first place (or, as in the case of the 3Com

Park, when city fathers need quick cash to help refurbish a stadium).

In the past when politicians led such projects, they typically honored their peers or predecessors with a stadium name. Shea Stadium, of course, was named after William A. Shea, the New York lawyer and power broker who helped bring National League baseball back to New York.

Then again, some politicians preferred the ring of their own names. In 1981, New Jersey's sports authority, whose members were all appointed by Gov. Brendan Byrne, decided to name the indoor arena at the state's new sports complex after him.

The companies that pay roughly \$1 million a year or more for these oversized vanity plates typically say they do it in the spirit of local boosterism. And there are other benefits. United Airlines has set up ticket booths in its hall, and it is unlikely that Coke will be served at Pepsi's arena. They also get national exposure by forcing their name into the pater of announcers and the copy of sportswriters.

But not everyone is convinced the dollars are spent wisely. Alan Friedman, editor of Team Marketing Report, a sports business publication, said it is not apparent to everyone who the companies are who sponsor these arenas. The names of a lot of big companies, after all, start with United. And probably not many people associate an air-conditioner company with the Carrier Dome in Syracuse (a reminder that the naming trend, while growing, isn't completely new).

Companies also do not necessarily need such wide exposure. Many outside the Northeast have never heard of the Fleet Financial Group, which has named the new arena near the Boston Garden. "I couldn't open an account at Fleet if I wanted to," said Mr. Friedman, who is based in Chicago.

He added that more arenas inevitably will bear corporate names. In fact, it's no leap of logic to imagine lawmakers catching on to an easy way to trim deficits. So tourists may some day visit the Microsoft Monument, featuring George Washington, in the nation's capital. Imagine the bidding war among vacuum-cleaner companies to rename the Hoover Dam.

## Hollywood Flesh Peddlers

# They Just Want a Little Respect

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

HOLLYWOOD

CHRISTMAS has arrived early, very early, at the Creative Artists Agency, the most powerful talent agency in town.

Bonuses to agents are being dispensed now, the end of the fiscal year, ranging from bundles of \$100,000 to, in a few cases, some worth more than \$1 million.

Nice work if you can get it. In the case of Creative Artists and rivals like International Creative Management and William Morris and United Talent, the rewards of agenting bring a financial windfall that enables agents to buy the Armani suits, modern art, hilltop homes and sleek BMW's befitting the wealthy.

Yet all that money — designed to supply dignity and style to a profession that has lacked both — often fails to satisfy top agents. Michael Ovitz and his partner Ron Meyer recently left Creative Artists, which represents movie superstars and powerful filmmakers, in large part because they were tired of being agents.

### High-Paid Gofers

No matter how many Kandinskys and Schnabels he collected, no matter how many Wall Street and Madison Avenue deals he shaped, Mr. Ovitz realized, associates say, that he remained, first and foremost, an agent. Forget that Mr. Ovitz and Creative Artists held a fund-raiser for President Clinton in his grand Beverly Hills headquarters, designed by I. M. Pei. Despite this extravagance, he was forced to remember that he was always an agent.

And that meant enduring the public embarrassment of actually being treated like one by his clients — that is, waiting for Janet Jackson or Dustin Hoffman to arrive for lunch; dealing with late-night calls from temperamental and abrasive clients like Sean Connery; fetching water for Julia Ormond in Las Vegas before she receives the award for Female Star of Tomorrow from the National Association of Theater Owners or struggling in vain to pressure Warren Beatty to star in "Crimson Tide," which turned out to be a hit, instead of "Love Affair," which was a dud. "In the end Michael Ovitz disdained a lot of what he had to do — and I thoroughly understand," said one of the top agents in Hollywood. "I'm 49. I'm going through the exact same thing."

Mr. Ovitz's surprise decision to become president of the Walt Disney Company on Oct. 1 was preceded by Mr. Meyer's move to head M.C.A. Both men left the agency that they built into a powerhouse because an agent's lot remains the way it always was: hustling, manipulating and being abused. "It wears you down dealing with unreasonable people," said an agent who represents several movie stars and who requested anonymity. "There's a myth out there. The artists are the good guys and the agents are the bad guys. Baloney! If

you're an agent, you represent a lot of damaged and greedy people."

Actors often treat agents appallingly. Recently David Caruso, whose career was nurtured by the United Talent Agency, abruptly left for the William Morris Agency. Reacting angrily, Marty Bauer, one of the heads of agency, said, "It's consistent with his modus operandi." Numerous rivals welcomed Mr. Bauer's candor: they called to congratulate him. But Mr. Caruso's behavior is hardly isolated.

Beyond the dismaying way the artists treat their agents, Mr. Ovitz and Mr. Meyer realized their power was, finally, elusive. They were sellers of talent, not buyers. In the 1940's and 1950's such great agents as Myron Selznick, Leland Hayward and Charles Feldman turned to producing movies for the same reason Mr. Ovitz left Creative Artists: they despised being called "flesh peddlers" and wanted to tap their own creative resources.

"So little has changed," said Frank Rose, author of "The Agency" (HarperBusiness), a newly published book about the William Morris Agency. "The big agencies can assemble all the talent packages they want and try to sell them, but ultimately

it's the studios who have the real power, the power to say yes and no." What agents do for their 10 percent commissions is find projects for actors and directors. The best agents nurture careers; the worst sabotage them.

### The Green Light

Nikki Finke, whose book "Pay or Play: The Rise and Rise of the Hollywood Agent" (Dial) will be published next year, said: "Everyone can say as much as they wanted that Ovitz was the most powerful man in Hollywood. But at the end of the day he never had the power to green-light a movie. Now he does."

Curiously, the Ovitz-Meyer departures have not quite unhinged Creative Artists in the way that the agency's rivals had hoped. There have been no defections of stars, but one prominent television agent, Marty Adelstein, left last week to join a new agency called Endeavor after he was passed over for a leadership role at Creative Artists, and told, in effect, to look elsewhere. He did, but not before carefully timing his departure. He collected his bonus and left.



Nancy Carpenter



# The Nation

## Can a New Third Party Emerge From the Center?

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

**A**S if we needed further proof, Colin L. Powell in the last few weeks has demonstrated just how vulnerable the two major parties are.

With no announcement of his intentions and only the barest disclosure of his views, the retired four-star general has been registering at or near the top of most Presidential polls. That he has never registered with a party appears to be no liability; in fact, it's probably an asset.

### A Fat Underbelly

Like Ross Perot before him, Mr. Powell is frequently hailed as a standard-bearer for the disaffected middle, voters who are frustrated with the increasing polarization of the two party system and looking for what they see as common sense answers in the center. Also like Mr. Perot, Mr. Powell is often viewed as a potential third-party candidate. But the descriptions of these two men are only half accurate.

By some accounts, Mr. Perot and Mr. Powell may both be centrists, and the two men may give voice to the opinions of many Americans in the fat underbelly of the bell curve. But Mr. Perot was not a third-party candidate in 1992; he was an independent in the fullest sense of the word. If Mr. Powell runs for President in 1996 as neither a Republican nor a Democrat, he would be an independent, too.

There may be room at the center for a third party. It seems Republicans and Democrats have more to fear from candidates who have no party at all.

"I think parties are useful institutions," said William Mayer, a professor of political science at Northeastern University who has studied third parties. "Nevertheless, the future is with independents."

The time has never seemed more propitious for a third party to form than now. Party identification with the two major parties is declining, and party loyalty has practically disappeared. Increasingly, Americans complain that the Democrats and the Republicans have been hijacked by factions and cater to the ideological extremes.

But politicians and analysts say there are deep reasons why the wrath of the so-called "radical middle" has not and probably will not translate into a new party.

One reason is that the center is inhabited by, well, centrists. Almost by definition they lack a galvanizing issue — like abortion for the Right-to-Life Party — that would unite them and spur them to

### The two parties have more to fear from candidates who have no party at all.

build a party. It is precisely because voters at the center tend to be less committed that the parties have drifted away from them. Activists on both the left and the right are more likely to participate in party caucuses and primaries, thereby dominating the process.

"When have you ever seen a passionate centrist?" asked Charles Cook, publisher and chief analyst of the Cook Political Report, a Washington newsletter. "There's very little passion or energy in the middle."

New parties, regardless of where they sit on the political spectrum, are notoriously difficult to establish. State election laws have historically favored the Democrats and Republicans against potential challengers, and now Federal campaign financing laws do the same. "A new party is a historical anomaly," said Senator Bill Bradley, the New Jersey Democrat, who recently announced he would not seek re-election but left open the possibility of an independent Presidential bid.

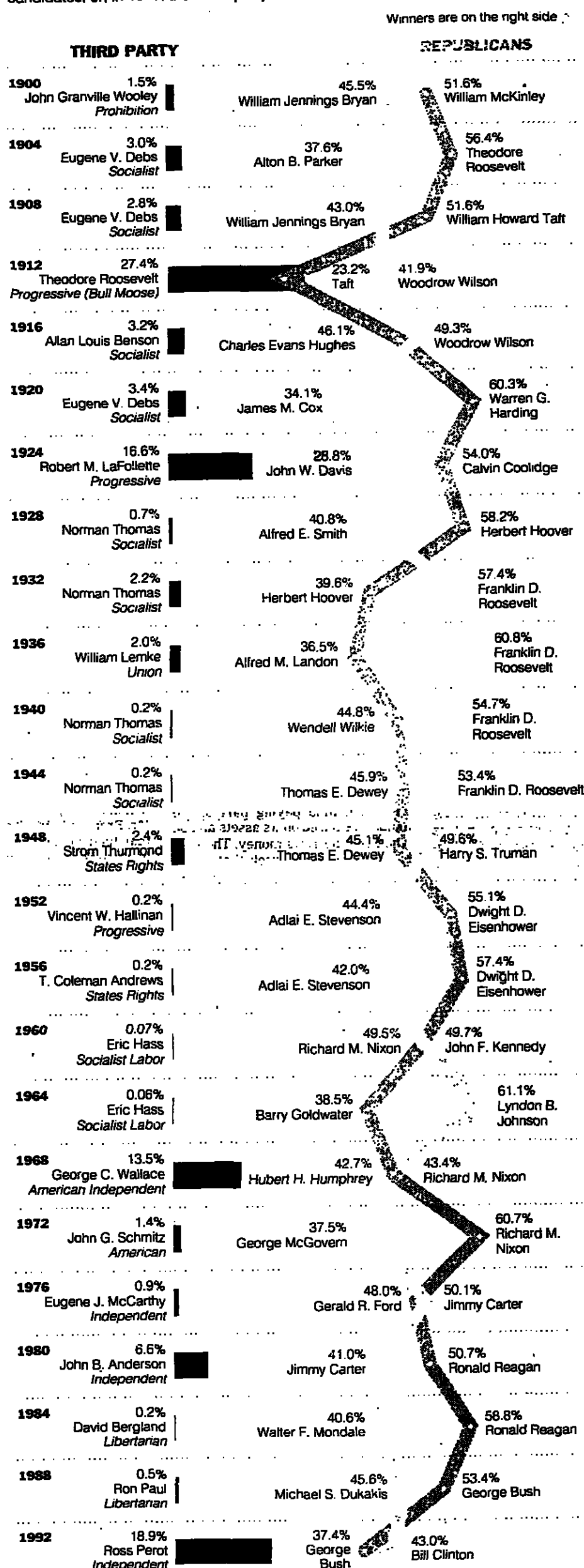
Those third parties that have maintained a consistent presence on the ballot in recent years, like the Libertarian Party, tend to have clearly focused ideologies, which points to another difficulty of forming a new party in the middle. The center tends to be occupied by people of many different, even diverging views.

"There's enormous support for a third party," said Kevin Phillips, the Republican political analyst. "But it always includes people who want all flavors — pro-grape, pro-lemon, pro-lime."

Mr. Mayer points out that independent candidates who call themselves centrists often end up with a platform that is highly idiosyncratic, well-suited to them

### Presidential Races: Win, Place and Show

Below is the popular vote for President in every election since 1900. The figures include the candidate coming in third behind the Democratic and Republican candidates, or, in 1912, the "third party" that came in second.



Sources: Editions of "America Votes," edited by Richard M. Scammon and Alice V. McGillivray, Congressional Quarterly, (1992 and 1988 elections), "America at the Polls," edited by Richard M. Scammon and Alice V. McGillivray, Congressional Quarterly, (1920-1984 elections), "I Elect... Unsuccessful Candidates for the Presidency, 1796-1989" by the staff of the Historian's Office at the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972.

The New York Times

seems, perhaps, but ill-suited to a broader movement.

### Blue Sky v. Reality

Although Mr. Perot favors abortion rights and a balanced budget and vehemently opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement, it's hard to discern a set of underlying principles. "It's not the kind of thing that can easily be translated into a stable organization,"

Mr. Mayer said. And Mr. Perot's organization, United We Stand, shows what happens when one man's quirky views meet up with the realities of party-building. Since its inception, United We Stand has been in an almost constant state of turmoil and has fielded virtually no candidates outside of its founder. While the organization is a collection of Perot followers, Mr. Mayer said, "they are not in any real sense an autonomous third party."



Eugene V. Debs



Theodore Roosevelt



Strom Thurmond



George C. Wallace



Ross Perot

## How Social Engineers Let Welfare Fall Apart

Continued from page 1

became easier to get. The welfare rights movement eased the stigma attached to handouts.

And in a way, it worked. As Michael Katz noted in his 1989 analysis of welfare, "The Underserving Poor," Federal programs lifted about half the poor over the poverty line from 1965 to 1972. Infant mortality plummeted. Few would argue that the average poor family is worse off today than in 1960.

But the costs were huge. A.F.D.C. now costs \$23 billion and reaches 14 million households. The dole became the rule for a vast swath of society, the plight of the program's children worsened rather than improved, and the list of ills it was supposed to cure — crime, illegitimacy, drug use, family breakup — only got longer.

### Democrats Against Clinton

Yet Democratic efforts to overhaul the system were fitful. President Clinton's own proposal to link welfare to work — and to create jobs — died last year, largely because the Democrats, who still controlled Congress, refused to embrace it.

Robert Shapiro, vice president of the Progressive Policy Institute, a new Democratic idea factory, says Congress clung to a notion of giving the poor a share of an endless economic expansion that was in fact ending. "Rather than saying that these programs can't solve these problems and that we need additional emphasis on responsibility, they said 'More aid is the answer,'" he said. "And when those become the terms, these programs have to fail."

There was surely more to it than that. But the basic theme of good intentions, untested and unquestioned, courses through many of the programs Republicans now seek to decimate or abolish.

Many experts call the earned income tax credit — actually, a Government check that keeps the working poor above the poverty line — the best antipoverty program of all. It encourages work and is cheap to run.

But its history is instructive. It began in 1975 as a tiny and temporary effort to buffer

poor workers from an increase in the Social Security payroll tax. Since then, the credit has been extended, indexed to inflation, made permanent, and finally, in 1993, offered to childless couples. It grew from \$252 million to \$20 billion and could become most costly welfare program of all.

The new Congress points to studies claiming that a third of the payments have gone to ineligible workers or, sometimes, con artists. The Government cracked down on fraud, but Republicans say some beneficiaries make \$50,000 or even \$100,000 a year.

Another success story, Head Start, is under assault, too. Head Start has schooled 14 million children in 30 years; Democrats long clamored to expand it. President Bush did so in 1992 to silence election-year criticism. But Edward Zigler, a Yale University psychologist who helped start the program and remains an advocate, says the expansion was disastrous. "They wanted to triple the size of Head Start without any plan, any plan whatsoever. Just throw money out there," he said. The result: wasted funds for hastily trained teachers and staff in catch-as-catch-can surroundings.

There's more. The Legal Services Corporation, intended to give the poor entry into the justice system, faces extinction amid accusations that lawyers clock time for liberal causes rather than clients. Supplemental Security Income, the last resort for the disabled poor, faces cuts, accused of frittering billions on drug addicts, alcoholics and families whose children have questionable behavioral problems. Medicaid now spends much of its money on elderly nursing-home patients, many of them middle class, as well as the younger poor. Even Medicare, which began 28 years ago with a \$3.7 billion allotment, now costs \$170 billion, grows by 10 percent a year and threatens to eat the entire budget in one gulp.

So was the Great Society wrongheaded? Or just wrongly run? Its basic tenets — some obligation to the poor, to children and the disabled and the sick — are probably permanent principles of American society, in one form or another. Democrats chose one form. In a lapse of vigilance, they may have ceded the right to choose another.



Outside the House, from left: David Bonior, Dick Gephardt and Vic Fazio.

## Seismic Shift in Parties Even Shakes Business

Continued from page 1

understood their problems in a way Bush and Reagan never did. And yet the money goes to Newt, and when you look at the polls of business executives, maybe 5 percent or so express real support."

In fact, big business now looks like a constituency in search of a party — culturally alienated from the Democrats, perpetually frustrated by the Republicans.

Certainly there is common ground with Gingrich & Company. Business-led organizations like the Coalition for Change have spent \$10 million financing television and radio ads calling for a balanced budget sooner rather than later.

But the Republican majority seems to go out of its way to tweak the boardroom. Seizing on a phrase once favored by Labor Secretary Robert Reich (who was told by the White House to pipe down) House Republicans scream daily about "corporate welfare." That may be more hype than reality (on the same day welfare went under the knife the Senate saved the Market Promotion Program to advertise American farm goods overseas) but there is no question that it is the small-business owners who have Congress's ear.

It was small businesses that led the charge against health care changes — which would put them at a disadvantage against their bigger brethren, who can better afford any new burden — and it is small businesses leading the drive against environmental rules that big business can also better cope with, and sometimes turn to its advantage.

The new order was aptly illustrated last week when Mr. Gingrich threatened to force a default on Government obligations if that's what it takes to make the White House see the budget his way. America has never defaulted — and if it did its cost of borrowing around the world would soar. The bond markets shook, not because anyone thought a default was imminent but because the mere specter of high officials bandying about the possibility could drive away foreign investors and send interest rates up. The old, Eastern-establishment Republi-

cans of the Eisenhower-to-Nixon era would have blanched at the very thought of publicly suggesting national financial suicide. Mr. Gingrich's allies just smiled a smile that seemed to say: Who cares what investors around the world think? We need every weapon we can get to force the White House to accept our budget, even if it means threatening the nation's credit rating.

Much the same divide can be seen in the early skirmishing over new Republican proposals for financing the Federal government: the flat tax and a tariff on Asian imports — the latter the proposal of Pat Buchanan, the most protectionist of the Presidential candidates. Flat-tax advocates tend to be small-business owners looking to even the playing field with big competitors who have armies of tax lawyers.

Meanwhile, any company that relies on exports for a huge part of its sales — Boeing, Intel or Procter & Gamble — recoils whenever Mr. Buchanan opens his mouth. "Big businesses have learned in recent years that they export or die," a senior Administration trade official said recently, "and they need all the help they can get."

Small businesses, no surprise, are less interested in market opportunities in Bombay. Partly it is a matter of resources, but partly it is a matter of world view. Even the smallest companies in Japan have a fairly subtle understanding of export markets; in the United States, officials frequently have to start their "emerging markets" seminars with a map: This is Indonesia.

No wonder, then, that it is the House freshmen, driven by memories of how disconnected from Washington small business feels, who have led the drive to dismantle the Commerce Department office by office. To them, it is just another rule-making bureaucracy. Now it looks like the trade side of the Commerce Department will be spared, but only after Commerce Secretary Ron Brown made repeated pleas for executives to come to its defense.

Mr. Brown was one of the architects of the new, business-friendly Democratic Party. If he can keep his department together — a big if — his next challenge is to make sure Bill Clinton gets a return on that investment.



# To Fight a Crash, Funds Buttress Their Cash

By EDWARD WYATT

**A**S the bull market in stocks charges ahead, mutual fund managers are putting as much money to work there as possible, keeping less cash on hand than at any time in nearly two decades. Month after month, the big fund companies have insisted that this is no cause for concern. Even if the market tumbles heading, they say, they have enough cash in reserve to handle redemptions from investors who might suddenly want to sell.

Now, though, some cracks are appearing in the industry's facade. T. Rowe Price Associates, the fund company in Baltimore, recently sought clearance from the Securities and Exchange Commission to secure emergency sources of cash should they be needed "to meet unanticipated or excessive redemption requests by shareholders."

Other fund companies have also explored ways to guarantee emergency access to cash. State Street Bank in Boston said it had responded to more than 20 inquiries from small and midsize fund families, which it declined to name, about providing guaranteed lines of credit in recent months.

"There were a few inquiries after the 1987 crash, but they were nothing to compare with the level of interest being exhibited today," said Joe Belanger, a vice president in charge of mutual fund lending at the bank.

"There's a concern on the part of funds that there may be a pullback in the market and that they might need access to liquidity on a timely basis without having to sell stocks into a declining market."

Even the least superstitious of investors might be left queasy by these defensive moves, what with the Dow Jones industrial average approaching the eye-popping level of 5,000 and the frightful month of October around the bend.

To be sure, no one is panicking yet — not even T. Rowe Price, which needed to consult the S.E.C. because of its desire to set up a joint credit line for most of its equity and bond funds.

But the significance of a company as prominent as T. Rowe Price — whose \$45 billion in more than 60 funds makes it the fourth-largest company specializing in no-load funds — preparing for a massive wave of shareholder redemptions is apparent. "The industry is clearly much more conscious and concerned about what could happen if there were a substantial selloff," said Geoff Bobroff, a mutual fund consultant in East Greenwich, R.I.

The fund companies most vulnerable in a stock selloff would be those with few funds under their roof and those without the deep pockets of a brokerage firm or other financial institution. Merrill Lynch Asset Management, for example, has the financial might of its parent compa-

ny, and Fidelity Investments considers the cash hoard in its money market funds a sufficient source of capital, either for emergency borrowing or loan collateral. Smaller firms have less to fall back on.

Most mutual funds have always had the ability to borrow money to meet emergency needs — generally up to 50 percent of net assets under the Investment Company Act of 1940. To do so, individual funds or fund groups generally approached banks only when necessary.

Under this arrangement, a fund paid nothing until it actually borrowed the money. But it was not guaranteed that the bank would have money to lend at that time.

By contrast, committed lines of credit, as sought by T. Rowe Price, stipulate that the bank will lend up to a specified amount any time the client asks for it. These contracts carry an annual fee, charged either to the fund or to the management company.

"If all conditions remained constant, and if the history of the industry were a good predictor of the future, uncommitted credit facilities would likely be adequate to meet the emergency liquidity needs of Price Funds," T. Rowe Price wrote to the S.E.C. on April 28. The S.E.C. cleared the plan in a letter dated July 31 and made public last month. In its request, the company cited several important developments that made binding commitments desirable.

For one, fewer banks have been willing to extend uncommitted lines of credit, apparently because the banks earn no money on them unless a loan is made, the company said.

But the letter also outlined broader reasons. "The mutual fund industry has many new funds," the company noted. "The ripple effect of how these funds and their shareholders handle negative market events could have significant impact on the redemption activity of the mutual fund industry at large."

In a phone interview, Henry Hopkins, chief legal counsel at T. Rowe Price, emphasized that the company "does not have any current need or have any impending anticipation of needing" access to emergency lines of credit to handle redemptions. "It is what I call good planning. We sought simply to make certain we had the capability and the authority to secure credit if in the future we determine it is advisable."

But the reasons cited by T. Rowe Price reflect a sentiment that is gaining strength across the fund industry, particularly with cash levels near all-time lows as a percentage of fund assets.

In recent months, the cash on hand at stock funds has dwindled to just under 7.1 percent, the lowest level since the fall of 1978, when the mutual fund industry was one-fortieth its current size. Similarly, cash levels in bond funds have hovered near their historic lows for two years, most recently dropping to 6.1 percent.

Market analysts watch mutual fund cash levels because they indicate future buying power — that is, how much new money rests on the sidelines, ready to buy stocks or bonds. But for the last six months, the level of uninvested cash in equity mutual funds has remained below 8 percent, a level that market strategists say often indicates a stock market top.

Combined with the growing influence of mutual funds in equity markets generally, that low cash levels might be a prescription for disaster. That was the substance of a warning recently issued by Henry Kaufman, the famed Wall Street economist whose firm bears his name. "I think that in the face of an extraordinary market disturbance, perhaps along the lines of the 1987 stock market crash, there is the potential for very large redemptions from both equity and bond funds," Mr. Kaufman said.

So dire is the possibility, he said, the industry should consider "introducing some circuit breakers in the mutual fund sector, analogous to those that have been developed successfully by the stock exchanges and the futures exchanges."

Mutual fund regulators point out that the system has been tested on several occasions and withstood considerable pressure. Not in the 1987 crash or at any time since have

mutual funds asked to suspend redemptions because of a cash crunch, said Heidi Stam, associate director of the division of investment management at the S.E.C.

Cash levels reported by the industry may also be misleading. Abby Joseph Cohen, co-chairwoman of the investment policy committee at Goldman, Sachs & Company, said that the huge growth in recent years of growth and income funds — at one-third of total equity fund assets, the single biggest category of stock funds — skews the numbers. Because growth and income funds hold stocks and bonds, often in the form of Treasury notes, as well as cash, their cash ratios tend to be lower than the rest of the group.

In addition, Ms. Cohen said, many funds now have the authority to use derivatives, which means they can create synthetic cash through risky maneuvers, like collecting cash in exchange for promising to buy stock later at a predetermined price if the market falls. "I believe the effect of those two features is that cash levels are higher than the numbers would indicate," she said.

Nevertheless, since the crash of 1987, fund companies have been scrambling to arrange access to more cash, and that trend has accelerated recently. "Our business has probably doubled in the last 12 months," said Mr. Belanger of State Street Bank.

Climbing over each other for business, banks have reduced by about 40 percent the annual fee they charge funds for committed credit lines. Mr. Belanger of State Street Bank said nearly all of the major banks that provide other services to mutual fund companies have been working on loan agreements as well. He cited the Bank of New York, Mellon Bank and Chase Manhattan.

The fund companies that have signed up for credit lines with State Street manage \$1 billion to \$30 billion in assets apiece and have requested loan guarantees of up to \$200 million, Mr. Belanger said.

T. Rowe Price said it might require much more. "The current thinking is in the range of \$400 to \$500 million," or about 1 percent of assets under management, for a credit line to be shared by about 50 funds, the company said in its letter to the S.E.C. Under the plan, T. Rowe Price's funds would share the cost of setting up a committed credit line, with each fund paying part of the annual fee based on its assets and on whether it borrows money. The fund company said last week that it had not established such a credit line yet and called the S.E.C. letter a technicality because each fund could have secured a credit line without regulatory approval. The biggest companies have some other options as well.

Fidelity Investments, a unit of the FMR Corporation, has taken steps to insure its bond and stock funds are able to meet redemption demands. In 1990, the company received permission from the S.E.C. for a borrowing program that allows Fidelity money market funds to lend to Fidelity stock and bond funds on a short-term basis.

Arthur Loring, senior vice president and general counsel at Fidelity, said the program was a response to the crash of 1987, when Fidelity deferred for several days the transfer of cash to shareholders who had sought redemption.

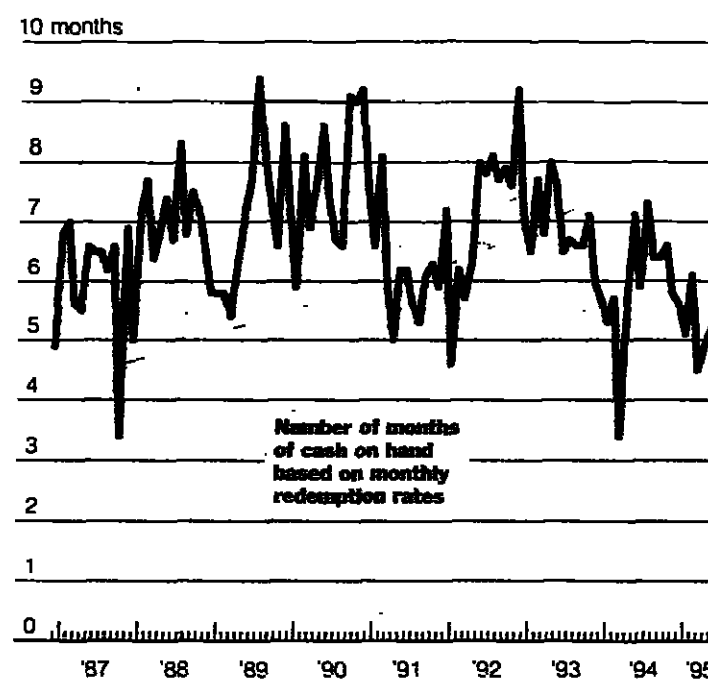
When an investor redeems shares in a mutual fund, the investor receives the "next calculated" price for his shares, usually the price at the end of the day the request is made. But the fund's manager legally has seven days to transfer the cash.

In normal markets, most fund companies make that transfer the day the shares are sold. But in 1987, Fidelity told shareholders it would take longer to pay them, because of the volatility of the market. In an emergency, funds also have the option of paying investors in shares of stock from the portfolio, rather than cash, though no fund was forced to do so in 1987.

While redemptions have calmed down significantly since then, Fidelity has made extensive use of its internal lending program. Jane Jamieson, a Fidelity spokeswoman, said loans among Fidelity funds had

## How Long the Money Would Last

Stock funds have enough cash reserves to cover redemptions at current levels for just over five months.



If redemption rates rose, during a market decline, for example, here is how the funds would deplete their cash reserves.

Redemption rate	Date last recorded	Money outflow	Number of months of coverage
1.5% of assets	June '95	n.a.	5.1
1.9% of assets	Mar. '95	\$21.5 billion	3.7
2.4% of assets	Oct. '87	\$27.2 billion	2.9

Source: Financial Research Corporation

occurred an average of "less than 10" times each year from 1990 through 1994 to "fund redemptions and facilitate settlement." No loans have been necessary this year, she said.

Other big fund companies also have contingency plans for a wave of redemptions, but they also express confidence they will be able to meet demand. John J. Brennan, president of the Vanguard Group, said Vanguard has the ability to borrow but lacks a companywide guaranteed line of credit. "We've seen a diminution in redemption rates since 1987," Mr. Brennan said. "The average mutual fund holder now is much less likely to be an active trader of stocks or bonds based on short-term criteria."

Daniel Maclean, general counsel at the Dreyfus Corporation, a unit of Mellon Bank, played down the significance of the T. Rowe Price letter. "The letter is a very minor item in the larger picture," he said. "Normally, for a mutual fund to borrow money is not difficult because we have the best collateral available."

In addition, "absent a major collapse, you don't have a circumstance where you can't sell securities," Mr. Maclean said. "You may have to sell at a price you don't particularly like, but you can sell."

Smaller fund companies face big problems getting quick access to cash, especially if they don't have a variety of funds, like money market funds, which presumably would attract more money in a market downturn. Daniel S. Perkins, a co-manager of the Perkins Opportunity Fund, sees no cause for alarm. His fund, at a mere \$34 million in assets, is a top performer this year and is the only fund managed by Perkins Capital Management. It has an uncommitted credit line of \$3 million — nearly 10 percent of assets.

He expects lenders to come through with cash if asked, but he acknowledges, "If one fund is getting major redemptions, chances are it will be a problem for the whole industry." Incidentally, he said, the fund recently raised its cash level to about 12 percent.

Mr. Bobroff, the fund industry consultant, points to some significant differences between the mutual fund market today and that of 1987. More than half of today's funds didn't exist then, he said, nor did the no-fee fund programs like Charles Schwab's On-source. Those programs' customers could drain fund companies if

they began switching money out of stock and bond funds into a money market account managed not by the same fund company, but by the Schwab's of the business.

Disinterested parties and interested watchers alike note that fund shareholders have never panicked and bailed out of mutual funds en masse. "The experience over the last eight years is that the market has been extremely liquid," said Bob Adler, president of AMG Data Services, an Arcata, Calif., firm that tracks cash flows at mutual funds.

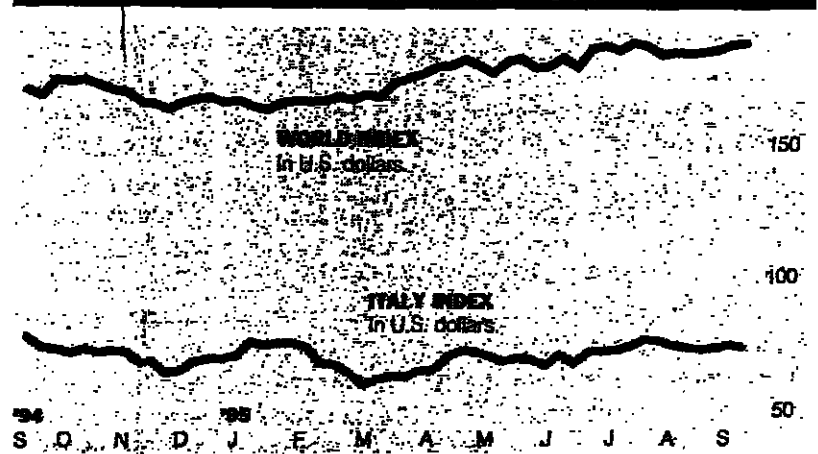
That has probably saved not a few poorly capitalized fund companies. "In 1987, there probably were some fund companies that were teetering that didn't fail because it was not a prolonged selloff," Mr. Bobroff said. "But if we were faced with a 1973-74 debacle, Lord only knows what the industry would do."

But mutual fund shareholders do sell when the market declines. According to data from the Financial Research Corporation, a Chicago company that tracks fund statistics, the number of months of cash on hand at stock funds to cover redemptions at their current levels has been low all year, at about five months' coverage. That is hardly apocalyptic, especially when fund managers often have access to new money to offset redemptions.

Still, the only times the coverage fell lower were in March 1984, January 1992 and October 1987. If redemptions as a percentage of assets were to rise to their level of October 1987, the cash coverage would slip to less than three months. Moreover, funds would not necessarily bear the weight of a massive selloff equally. Some funds have far less cash, and a few have invested borrowed money already, making them far more vulnerable.

All of which has fund companies — if not fund shareholders — checking to see if they are ready for an unpredictable decline in the market. It is not hard to imagine why T. Rowe Price and other fund companies might want to make sure they have access to cash, said Mr. Belanger. "They are a service organization, and they live and die by their reputation in the marketplace," he said. "It's very hard to tell your customers that you don't have their money when they want it."

## WORLD STOCK MARKETS



World and Italy indices are plotted as of Thursday. Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE		IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURR.	
Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.
Australia	184.40	-3.2	24	7.4	16	3.96	164.07	11.5
Austria	180.99	1.3	6	-1.0	22	1.34	133.29	-9.4
Belgium	196.61	4.0	2	16.7	7	3.70	141.07	6.7
Brazil	154.40	-2.8	23	-5.4	24	1.56	271.07	6.6
Britain	224.66	0.4	9	15.3	9	4.11	240.77	14.2
Canada	143.63	-0.3	16	11.0	14	2.64	140.75	7.1
Denmark	282.98	0.3	10	12.4	12	1.52	212.66	2.0
Finland	261.33	-5.1	26	40.5	1	1.36	234.74	26.9
France	172.70	-0.3	15	5.8	18	3.29	133.20	-2.7
Germany	162.55	0.9	7	13.4	11	1.99	119.79	3.7
Hong Kong	373.15	-2.6	22	14.4	10	3.77	370.35	14.3
Ireland	248.41	0.7	8	20.5	5	3.49	216.45	15.0
Italy	77.18	-3.5	25	2.5	21	1.64	92.81	1.7
Japan	144.86	0.1	12	-7.7	25	0.83	90.38	-8.7
Malaysia	507.49	1.8	4	5.9	17	1.66	490.16	4.0
Mexico	1,150.29	-2.3	21	-18.8	26	1.74	7,986.17	4.7
Netherlands	259.51	2.9	3	19.7	6	3.47	188.07	9.5
New Zealand	78.75	-1.0	19	11.8	13	4.54	63.04	7.9
Norway	236.18	1.6	5	10.8	15	2.11	200.77	2.6
Singapore	365.93	-0.6	18	-1.9	23	1.72	241.14	-3.8
South Africa	353.39	0.0	13	5.0	19	4.11	282.11	-5.9
Spain	152.68	0.2	11	15.7	8	3.90	142.72	8.5
Sweden	310.29	-0.4	17	34.3	2	1.84	324.75	27.7
Switzerland	215.44	4.8	1	30.4	3	1.75	152.04	13.4
Thailand	165.49	-2.0	20	4.6	20	2.53	160.96	4.4
United States	237.82	-0.2	14	26.7	4	2.47	237.82	26.7

COMPOSITE INDICES						
Europe	195.49	0.8	15.7	3.07	164.46	9.2
Pacific Basin	155.68	-0.2	- 5.2	1.25	101.14	- 6.3
Europe/Pacific	172.17	0.2	3.6	2.11	125.03	0.1
World	193.01	0.0	11.5	2.28	160.15	9.1

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.  
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## CURRENCIES

Country	Currency	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japan	Yen per U.S. \$	99.18	104.15	-4.77	97.85
Germany	Marks per U.S. \$	1.4820	1.4893	-1.83	1.5470
Canada	Canadian \$ per U.S. \$	1.3507	1.3663	-1.16	1.3435
Britain	U.S. \$ per British pound	1.5892	1.5505	+2.49	1.5772

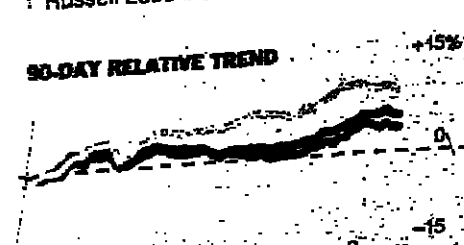
Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

## Sept. 18-22: Stocks and Bonds Weaken, Anticipating the Fed's Meeting on Tuesday

### PRICES

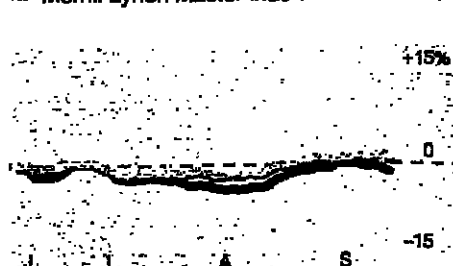
#### DOMESTIC EQUITIES

Broad market S. & P. 500 index	Down 0.28%	581.73
Blue chips Dow 30 industrials	Down 0.70%	4,764.15
Small capitalization Russell 2000 index	Down 0.71%	312.05



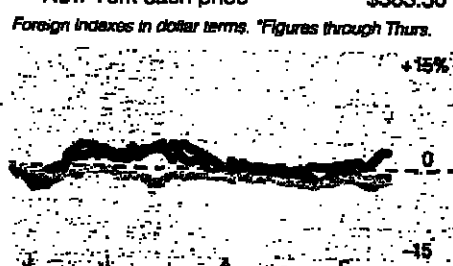
#### DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries	Down 0.64%	182.16
Ryan Labs. Total Return		
Municipals	Down 1.37%	114.63
Bond Buyer index		
Corporates	Down 0.53%	775.77
Merrill Lynch Master index		



#### AROUND THE WORLD

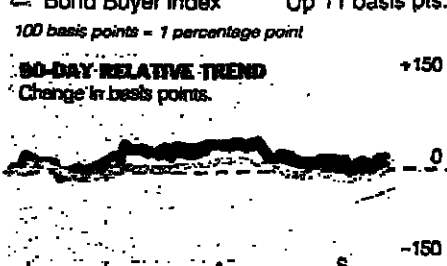
European stocks F.T.-Actuaries Europe	Up 1.68%	197.21
Asian stocks F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	Up 0.02%	158.09
Gold	Down 0.78%	\$383.50
New York cash price		



### YIELDS

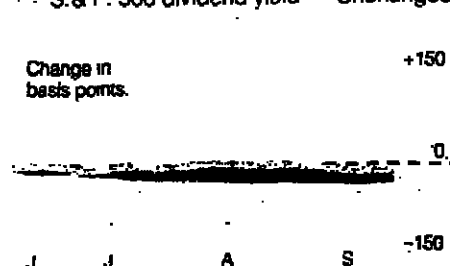
#### BONDS

Long bonds	6.58%
30-year Treasuries	Up 10 basis pts.
Short bonds	5.82%
2-year Treasuries	Up 10 basis pts.
Municipals	6.11%
Bond Buyer index	Up 11 basis pts.



#### OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	5.25%
Bank fund average	Up 1 basis pt.
Bank C.D.'s	5.12%
1-year small savers	Down 2 basis pts.
Stocks	2.40%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Unchanged



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## The Return of Covert Operations

Almost from the day it was created nearly 50 years ago the Central Intelligence Agency has been bedazzled by covert operations. At times the allure of acting in secret to bend the world to American interests with private armies, propaganda programs and political intrigue was so intoxicating it overwhelmed the agency's main business of espionage and intelligence analysis. Now, despite a history of disastrous operations, the agency is talking about a new era of covert action.

There is a place for covert operations in the execution of American national security policy, but it must be narrowly and precisely defined. Whatever thin justification the cold war provided for reckless adventures is gone. The country can no longer tolerate uncontrolled operations like the failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 or the clandestine effort in the 1980's to trade arms for hostages with Iran and secretly support the contra rebels in Nicaragua.

Through the years the C.I.A. engaged in unethical and sometimes illegal activities to support covert operations, including money laundering, drug dealing and the maintenance of corrupt business enterprises. Too many times the agency's enthusiasm for covert operations also contaminated the preparation of intelligence estimates, which were slanted to justify questionable operations.

But the issue is not just C.I.A. conduct. Presidents from Truman to Reagan, and perhaps since then in ways not yet disclosed, have used the C.I.A. and the Pentagon to wage secret wars, overthrow foreign governments and take other actions that exceeded or undermined the public policies and commitments of the United States Government. In the case of the Iran-contra affair, the Reagan Administration secretly violated its own policy of never negotiating for the release of hostages and

defied a Congressional ban on assistance to the Nicaraguan rebels.

While there is no sure way to stop Presidents from misusing covert operations to support hidden foreign agendas, the best prevention is to keep the capability small and the targets restricted.

John Deutch, the new Director of Central Intelligence, is proposing an expansion of the C.I.A.'s covert operations apparatus, which atrophied after the Iran-contra case. Mr. Deutch believes Presidents should have the option of covert action, not for toppling foreign governments but for dealing with terrorist threats, preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and combating drug cartels.

He is right that covert action may be justified against terrorist groups and nuclear renegades. In such cases, operations need to be authorized by the President, Congress must be notified and the C.I.A. must impose the most exacting standards for their management. Mr. Deutch recognizes the need for all those safeguards.

But Mr. Deutch is wrong to suggest the C.I.A. get into the business of disrupting narcotics organizations. It is an invitation to trouble and corruption. The cartels have a long history of compromising governments and individuals with money and access to drugs. The Drug Enforcement Administration, the Customs Service and the Pentagon are already fighting the drug trade. The C.I.A. provides them with intelligence information, and that is as far as the agency should go.

Washington has been burned so many times by failed covert operations and their disclosure that it is hard to imagine the C.I.A. embracing their widespread use again. Before Mr. Deutch takes even one step down that path, the country is entitled to a serious public debate about his plan.

## Notes on Affirmative Action

One week into the rolling-soldier's 1995 tour, it is possible to make a hopeful if tentative judgment about its impact on the national mood. Colin Powell, for the moment at least, is having a calming effect on the national discussion of "hot button" issues. We admit to pleasant surprise that General Powell's qualified endorsements of affirmative action, gun control and abortion rights for women and his sensible opposition to mandatory school prayer prompted little opposition, even from the fundamentalist fund-raisers and professional zealots who make their livings on those issues.

At any rate, Mr. Powell is to be thanked for the vapor trail of sanity that seems to be following him, especially on the issue of affirmative action. President Clinton, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and a few others have stood bravely against those who want to use anecdotes of white disadvantage to justify a Federal chokehold on minority opportunities in politics, education and jobs. But our sense is that Mr. Powell's personal example and his qualified defense of affirmative action have done more than Mr. Clinton's commendable speech to refresh national thinking. The country needed Mr. Powell's reminder that the creation of special opportunity for the victims of historic discrimination is both economically sound and morally worthy.

Still, Colin Powell could have done an even greater service by being more forthcoming. Affirmative action has only one entry in the index of "My American Journey." He defines his wish for continuing efforts to level the playing field without resort to mathematical quotas, but misses the opportunity to explore fully his experience in an Army where he saw black soldiers encounter disciplinary problems because they were conditioned by "less opportunity, less education, less money, fewer jobs for blacks" on the outside. Mr. Powell is gracious in acknowledging his debts to the civil rights move-

ment and pioneering black officers, but he is also too willing to accept the bootstrap platitudes that his political mentors, Ronald Reagan and George Bush, substituted for social policy.

So it is useful to read the Powell book alongside Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s interview with the author in the Sept. 25 issue of The New Yorker. In the book, we learn of Mr. Powell's zeal for "entrepreneurial capitalism" and his unfocused belief that the Democrats are hostile to it. But Mr. Gates adds the valuable information that Mr. Powell is "now a wealthy person" whose holdings once included a share of a Buffalo television station. It was purchased in concert with a wealthy cousin, Bruce Llewellyn, under a tax-break program passed by a Democratic Administration and Congress to promote minority ownership of radio and television.

Mr. Powell records his elation at making general at 42, but Mr. Gates and others provide the detail that Clifford Alexander, the Secretary of the Army under President Carter, forced the Pentagon to integrate the promotion lists that produced Colin Powell's opportunity. Mr. Alexander told Mr. Gates that there were "a number of black generals" of equal talent who never got General Powell's political breaks.

Now that he has defended affirmative action, Colin Powell can advance it by discussing more fully the combination of personal ability and mold-breaking opportunity that brought him to this moment. His rise rests fundamentally on individual merit, but it also reflects a mix of Democratic door-opening and Republican sponsorship. Mr. Powell's American journey points up powerfully why this society needs more efforts like those that positioned him to compete fairly in the military, invest in the television business and reach, if he chooses, for the Presidency.

## Consider the Cabbies

The arrival of a new taxi czar in New York City is generally followed by a promise that cab drivers will start to behave better. Christopher Lynn, the latest chairman of the Taxi and Limousine Commission, has taken a more practical approach. Under his watch, he promises, cab drivers will start to be paid better.

The taxi fleet owners are petitioning the city for a fare increase. Mr. Lynn wisely says he will not support any rise unless the bulk of the money goes directly to the drivers, instead of the owners of the 11,787 taxi medallions and their middlemen.

Mr. Lynn is not unfamiliar with the litany of complaints about New York cab drivers. Like his predecessors, he vows city cabbies will become polite, proficient in English and know how to get to Lincoln Center.

None of this is likely to happen as long as the drivers' pay and working conditions are so abysmal. Cabbies generally work a 12-hour shift, which means they are often tired and cranky. They must pay for gasoline and an up-front rent of \$75 or more for the car. If the day has been slow, they may be racing the clock to avoid actually losing money. Unscrupulous garages charge them huge "deposits" of up to \$2,000 and then refuse to refund the money when they quit the job. Dispatchers may demand an extra \$5 to \$10 for a cab that has amenities like a radio, air-conditioning, or even an unbroken driver's seat.

According to Mr. Lynn's office, the average cabbie nets about \$77 for a 12-hour day. That means the quicker, most agreeable, English-proficient drivers will not linger long in the trade.

The winners in this system are the medallion owners. Beneficiaries of a city-chartered monopoly, they can lease their official permits to garages or agents, take their commissions and watch their investments appreciate. The selling price for individual medallions, whose owners are supposed to drive themselves for one shift a day, has risen from \$128,400 in 1990 to \$164,000 today. Corporate medallions, which do not require the owner to drive, have skyrocketed from \$135,700 to \$220,000 in the same period.

Mr. Lynn's agenda includes a crackdown on those "deposits" and more inspections to assure that every driver gets a safe, comfortable vehicle without paying under the table.

As to the fare, Mr. Lynn's priorities are exactly right. It has been nearly six years since the last increase. The owners have asked for a hike that would raise the average fare by 27 percent. A more reasonable figure is between 10 and 15 percent. About two-thirds of that should go to the drivers, putting Mr. Lynn close to his goal of raising the average cabbie's income by about \$20 a day.

Once the drivers are better paid and better treated, New Yorkers can demand that they provide better service.

## Great College Teachers Build Lasting Bonds

To the Editor:

Re "Power to the Pedagogues" (Op-Ed, Sept. 17): Christopher Winship and Mark Ratner are correct that popular college rankings, such as those of U.S. News & World Report, should put greater effort into rating an institution's teachers.

For too long the evaluative services have looked toward the glossy instead of the substantive. Manicured lawns, dining center food and pristine health club facilities affect quality of life, not education.

However, I am dismayed by their suggestion that academics could be strengthened if there existed a competitive market for teachers based even most altruistically on skill and not on popularity or showmanship.

Part of what makes great teachers, at least in this former student's eyes, is their ability to form lasting relationships with a school and, most important, students and alumni. The professor unable to establish these bonds becomes a well-compensated, well-traveled lecturer, not a teacher.

I also cannot help relating the situation that Mr. Winship and Mr. Ratner describe to professional sports. They call for a market-driven collegiate economy, where professors are compensated not for their drawing power but for their performance, and where the economic forces are better quality of teaching, not higher salaries.

Will my alma mater, Vassar College, benefit from a salary cap so it can compete against larger schools with television contracts? Maybe if my former history professors were to wear Nike caps or hold out for the first few classes?

HUNTER WALK  
Cincinnati, Sept. 18, 1995

### Student Evaluations

To the Editor:

Re "Power to the Pedagogues" (Op-Ed, Sept. 17), by Christopher

Winship and Mark Ratner: Teaching quality is difficult to evaluate accurately, but the largest component is student evaluation.

That some faculty members fear that evaluations are little more than "popularity contests" says more about the insecurity of the faculty than about the superficiality of student opinion.

I made a study of a large number of student evaluations of many faculty members over 10 years. The results were, quantitatively, surprisingly consistent and, qualitatively, showed that the evaluations were not popularity contests, providing that the faculty maintained reasonable standards.

And standards are something that other faculty members should be involved with.

Overall, most students know the difference between being entertained and being educated. Their opinions should not be the only factor



Don Barrett

in measuring teaching quality, but they are significant. SIDNEY TOBY  
Piscataway, N.J., Sept. 20, 1995  
The writer is a professor of chemistry at Rutgers University.

### The Research Link

To the Editor:

Christopher Winship and Mark Ratner's Mr. Chips has been supplanted by professors, women as well as men, likely to realize recognition as talented teachers and productive scholars (Op-Ed, Sept. 17).

In my 22d year on the faculty of a small liberal arts college, that esteems teaching, I have learned that a professor's prosperity as a classroom instructor is linked to scholarship.

Opportunities for students to flourish as learners is often the direct result of their teachers' sustained commitment to research. This is what helps make small liberal arts college incubators that yield future generations of scholars. I also know, unlike the authors, not to expend much effort fussing about defining excellence in teaching. Where it exists in a critical mass, it will reveal itself in a multiplicity of forms.

If Mr. Winship and Mr. Ratner are truly anxious to learn more about improving university teaching, I advise them to visit one of the liberal arts colleges in their respective academic neighborhoods. What they encounter will prove edifying about the enterprise of learning, even without Mr. Chips.

MICHAEL H. EBNER  
Prof. of History, Lake Forest College  
Lake Forest, Ill., Sept. 18, 1995

### Dartmouth Practice

To the Editor:

"Power to the Pedagogues" (Op-Ed, Sept. 17) states the Dartmouth faculty "refuses to permit student evaluations," to avoid mere popularity contests. Far from refusing to permit student evaluations, most faculty members at Dartmouth themselves give out teaching evaluations at the end of term.

JAMES WRIGHT  
Dean of Faculty, Dartmouth College  
Hanover, N.H., Sept. 20, 1995

## Rockefellers Keep Faith With New York

To the Editor:

Steven R. Weissman's Sept. 14 Editorial Notebook on the Rockefeller Center saga provides perspective on the fallibility of corporate judgments amid volatile markets. That's fair game. What's not fair is the implication that the Rockefeller family, and David Rockefeller in particular, have acted in ways inconsistent with their commitment to New York City.

As a member of the committee that controls the Rockefeller family trusts, and an associate and a friend of David Rockefeller, I am aware of some facts that cast his role in a different light.

The Trust Committee in 1988-90 took the lead in selling a majority interest in Rockefeller Group Inc. to what could only be characterized as a responsible buyer. Unusual covenants were included to assure that the operation of the property would be consistent with the proud tradi-

tions the Rockefellers have long insisted upon for Rockefeller Center.

One contingency we did not envisage was the decision of the majority owner to place the property in bankruptcy. Despite the precipitous drop in New York real estate values, less costly alternatives were in hand that would assure that the public as well as private interests in the property would be preserved.

Mr. Rockefeller's personal efforts to facilitate those alternatives refute any notion that he or his family are "still ruthlessly" protecting their financial interests "without much sentiment for the monuments that its wealth once created."

The cultural, business and civic life of this city and state have been lifted from Rockefeller participation, loyalty and philanthropy through this century. I have no doubt that will remain true.

PAUL A. VOLCKER  
New York, Sept. 20, 1995

## Soweto's a Long Way From Levittown

To the Editor:

"Seeing South Africa as the U.S.A., 1954" (Week in Review, Sept. 17) shows some of the pitfalls of trying to explain foreign experiences by using American points of reference.

You compare the black township of Soweto, down the highway from Johannesburg, to the Levittown on Long Island of the 1950's: "Row after row of identical houses with neat yards on curving suburban streets, all governed by strict zoning." But these neat-trimmed homes represent how only a fraction of Soweto's three million residents live — namely, teachers, policemen and other professionals who make up South Africa's tiny black middle class.

Many residents of Soweto — and far greater numbers in other black South African townships that have

not been in the international spotlight for many years — live in hordes of corrugated tin or lumber, without electricity or running water. Approximately one-third of black South Africans still live in these conditions, euphemistically referred to in South Africa as "informal housing."

If a comparison with the American experience is relevant, for the overwhelming number of black South Africans, a better one would be with the desperate poverty of the rural South depicted in Walker Evans' and James Agee's "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men," not the suburban Long Island homes of Levittown.

CLIFFORD RECHTSCHAFER  
San Francisco, Sept. 20, 1995  
The writer is an associate professor of law at the Golden Gate University School of Law.

## Republicans Can't Take Blame for Doubling Medicare Premiums

To the Editor:

Your Sept. 22 front-page headline blared, "House G.O.P. Plan Doubles Premiums of Medicare Users," as if that were news.

The fact is, Medicare Part B premiums have doubled over the past seven years. Consistent with that trend, they will double over the next seven years.

This is hardly the stuff of screaming headline news.

In 1988 the monthly Medicare premium was \$24.80. Seven years later, in 1995, it has nearly doubled — to \$46.10, according to the Health Care Financing Administration.

Over the next seven years, under the Republican plan, the monthly Medicare premium will nearly double again, from this year's \$46.10 to \$80 in 2002.

That amounts to a difference of only \$7 a month when compared with the \$33 monthly premiums in 2002 projected in President Clinton's fiscal year 1996 budget.

The Republican plan maintains the same share of Part B premiums

seniors pay today — seniors will continue to pay the same 31.5 percent of their Part B premiums they pay today, and the taxpayers will continue to pick up the rest.

The debate over preserving Medicare is vitally important to the 37 million Americans the program covers and to the ensuing generations who hope it will still be there for them.

A debate this important should be conducted on nothing less than a straight presentation of the facts.

Your headline is misleading. It creates a deceptive inference by portraying the course of Medicare premiums under the Republican plan as a new development — something worthy of a blaring headline — when

the facts show the opposite is true, that it is consistent with the current trend.

Blaring, misleading headlines like yours undermine the ability of the American people to learn the full facts and to make informed judgments in this enormously important debate. The American people deserve better.

HALEY BARBOUR  
Chairman  
Republican National Committee  
Washington, Sept. 22, 1995

## Neglected Melville

To the Editor:

"Undoing Melville" (Book Notes, Sept. 20) leaves the impression that Herman Melville's writing pretty much came to a halt after "Pierre." "This is news to readers of such works as 'The Piazza Tales' (including the stories 'Benito Cereno' and 'Bartleby'), 'The Confidence-Man' and the Civil War poetry in 'Battle-Pieces.'"

Unlike the lost "Isle of the Cross," the exact nature of which is conjectural, these books are very much with us, however little they may have contributed to Melville's manifold well-being.

To ignore them compounds the neglect to which our greatest writer of prose was subjected by his contemporaries. GEOFFREY O'BRIEN  
Exec. Editor, Library of America  
New York, Sept. 20, 1995

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## The New Political Chic

By Victor Navasky

I never would have occurred to me that this country needed yet another conservative periodical. That, presumably, is why Rupert Murdoch, who hired William Kristol to edit the newly arrived Weekly Standard, owns one-third of all the newspapers in Britain, TV Guide, HarperCollins, Fox Television and various other media properties that earned more than \$9 billion last year, while I preside over The Nation, which has lost money for virtually every one of its 130 years.

It also never would have occurred to me to put out a magazine about politics that boasts in its inaugural issue that it has no politics and is nonpartisan. But that is how George, John F. Kennedy Jr.'s new bi-monthly, named after our founding dad, describes itself, and George boasts 175 pages of ads in its 280-page first issue. Modesty, not to mention our advertising director, prevents me from issuing The Nation's comparative statistics. Suffice it to say our typical issue runs to 36 overwhelmingly editorial pages. George, by the way, is published by another transnational media conglomerate, the Paris-based Hachette Filipacchi Magazines.

Since journals of opinion as a class are as notorious for losing money as Rupert Murdoch is for making it, and since Mr. Kennedy disarmingly confided in his opening editor's letter that his instructor in a two-day seminar called "Starting Your Own Magazine" told him, "You can successfully launch a magazine in just about anything except for religion and politics," one is tempted to ask, what is going on? Is it merely that the sons of prominent men must each have their own magazine (although Irving Kristol is no Jack Kennedy)? Or could political discourse really be making a comeback?

I believe it was Cyril Connolly who first observed that there are three illusions that persistently beset young men: falling in love, starting a magazine and harboring the idea that it is possible to make a living selling chickens. But it is more than the romantic aura that has always surrounded magazines that makes these two new entries worth watching.

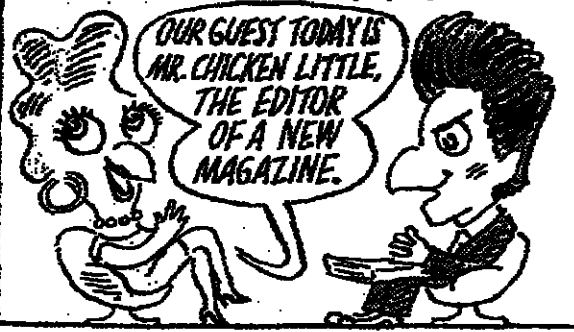
What's interesting about this duo — one a self-proclaimed life-style magazine with Cindy Crawford on the cover in a George Washington wig and little else, and the other a gray journal whose current issue urges Americans to call abortion by its rightful name, "killing" — is less what distinguishes them than what unites them. Each is a subsidiary of precisely those transnational media conglomerates that a serious political magazine ought to be monitoring.

Kristol and Company, having decided that a conservative era needed a conservative weekly, put this proposition to Rupert Murdoch, and it took him five minutes to say yes, they say. This is no small point in a

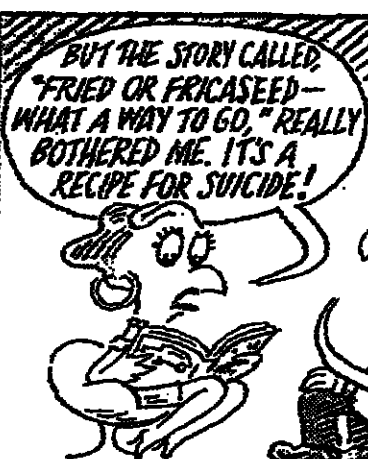
Victor Navasky, publisher of The Nation, is writing a book about the role of the journal of opinion.

## START-UP UPSTART

BY ROBERT GROSSMAN



## IT'S A MAGAZINE OF OPINION FOR POULTRY.



culture organized on a biblical rhythm with a day of rest for reading Sunday's New York Times and watching the chat shows.

But it is in the nature of the journal of opinion — left, right and far right — to question the powers that be, to cast an independent eye on the ideas and inhabitants of the conventional center. No wonder the circulations of National Review and The American Spectator skyrocketed when they took out after Bill Clinton.

No matter how many pledges of independence Mr. Murdoch makes, Kristol and Company have still turned their backs on the world of their fathers, where if you had some-

## The big money behind George and The Standard.

thing to say you started your own magazine (or found like-minded dreamers to publish you in theirs).

Independent political commentary requires independence, and with the freest possible play of ideas, the exercise the power of reason, and make the case for the importance of moral argument. Mr. Murdoch means media concentration, media concentration means homogenization and homogenization is the enemy of independence.

George has less lofty ambitions than to speak for the era, but Kennedy and Company do seem to argue that a "post-partisan" era needs a post-partisan magazine and that the way to engage the citizenry in a conversation, the way to kindle political passions, is to cover the points where politics converges with fashion, art, the media and, presumably, Cindy Crawford's belly button.

Hence, issue No. 1 includes such forays into cultural politics as a close look by Paul Alexander at Senator Bob Dole's attack on Time Warner and gangsta rap, and Tom Gogola on "The P.A.C. That Punk Built," the

story of a grunge bass player who lobbies the Washington State House.

I like John Kennedy's idea of raising the political consciousness of the alienated, the hip and the hoi polloi. And although I have no more belief in post-partisanship than I do in the end of ideology (Daniel Bell) or history (Francis Fukuyama), I assume that the folks at George will either discover their politics through what they publish or they will perish.

The problem Mr. Kennedy and his partner, Michael Berman, may face is that they have hitched their publishing star to Hachette, which boasts that it sells 800 million copies of its 74 magazines worldwide, among them Elle, which put J.F.K. Jr. on the cover (tsk, tsk), but otherwise is a fashion magazine, a life-style magazine, a magazine in the Hachette Filipacchi tradition of turning cultural artifacts into commodities.

This may work for glossy fashion magazines, where the function of copy is to lure the reader into the ambience of the ads, but could pose a problem for George, which apparently wants to be an influential participant in the political debate.

Given the global reach of the parents of both magazines, it is fitting that a global thinker should provide what a global thinker should provide: the standard, against which The Standard and George (in its more ambitious moments) should be evaluated. Last summer, I had the chance to visit Jürgen Habermas, a product of the old Frankfurt School, famous for its studies on the relationship of culture to politics. When I asked him what role journals of opinion had in this era of conglomerated, electronic transnational media, he said: "That's easy. It's to set the standard of reasoned argumentation."

This formulation poses a question: Is transnational ownership any greater threat to a political journal than, say, its ownership by a rich eccentric or a nonprofit corporation?

Some years ago, at a conference devoted to some of these matters, Michael Kinsley, who had edited both The New Republic and Harper's Magazine, said, "I've worked for a rich eccentric and I've worked for a foundation [he didn't say which was

which but Harper's is owned by a foundation], and the rich eccentric is better because the foundation will always opt for a safety model" — that is, to avoid controversy. Which led Charles Peters, editor of The Washington Monthly, to say a word on behalf of the poor eccentric: "You don't have to give influence to anybody if you're willing to stay poor, and it's very important to keep 51 percent of the voting control."

The truth is that the business-and-editorial tension will always be there, but the multiplier effect of the multinational corporation — with its mix of absentee ownership, bureaucracy and bottom-line deference to advertisers — vastly compounds the problem.

To succeed commercially, George might get by treating politics as a spectator sport. To succeed politically, The Standard might find its niche as weekly cheerleader for the cause. But whether The Standard (or George, if it comes to care) can fulfill its potential as maintainer of a demanding level of public discourse without breaking transnational ties remains to be seen.

## Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

## What Is This?

WASHINGTON  
Jesse Jackson was never going to go gently. It was not surprising that he was openly snappish about losing his status as the Great Black Hope of American politics.

In a New Yorker profile of Colin Powell, Henry Louis Gates Jr. transcribed Mr. Jackson's rant about "the phantom candidate": "We do know that very right-wing white people can trust him. They can trust him to drop bombs. We know that Reagan could trust him. Historically, there's been this search — whites always want to create the black of their choice as our leader. So for the white people this nice, clean-cut black military guy becomes something really worth selling and promoting. But have we ever seen him on a picket line? Is he for unions? Or for civil rights? Or for anything? ... I mean, what is this?"

It is only natural for such a big talker to be flummoxed by enthusiasm for such a big tease. And it is only natural for someone who has always been seen as a symbol and a spoiler to be jealous of someone who is seen as a President. (And the new guy speaks Yiddish.) While Mr. Powell's book shatters records, Mr. Jackson's book, "Legal Lynching: Racism, Injustice and the Death Penalty," arrives next month in its shadow.

Mr. Jackson was an outsider who spent his career taunting the establishment. Mr. Powell was an insider who spent his career courting the establishment. One idolized Martin Luther King Jr. The other calls Ronald Reagan "a father figure" and George Bush "an older brother." One thrives on disorder, the other on control. One's idea of fun is jumping in front of cameras. The other's is fixing old Volkswagens. One is a liberal who speaks in rhymes. The other is a centrist who speaks in platitudes. One draws cries of "When?" and "How?" The other, groans of "Not again."

In his book, General Powell tells of suppressing his anger about segregation: "If I was to be confined to one end of the playing field, then I was going to be a star on that part of the field." His tone about Mr. Jackson is faintly sardonic. On the flight to Nelson Mandela's inauguration, "We joked about pretending to be asleep in order to avoid being trapped by Jesse Jackson's aile monologues." He says that Representative Ron Dellums came to the Pentagon in 1991 to talk politics: "His theme was that, compared to, say, a leader like Jesse Jackson, I was a 'jelly maker not a tree shaker.'"

I went to talk to Mr. Jackson about all this. He was taping his CNN talk show, "Both Sides." The topic, inexorably, was Colin Powell, and why he has higher ratings among whites than blacks.

"Is he really a black man?" demanded Mr. Jackson's guest, Dorothy Leavell of The Chicago Crusader. "You know, he's very light-complected."

## The reverend and the general.

ed, and many people did not know for a very long time that he indeed was a black man." Looking amused, Mr. Jackson called her comment "a heavy number."

Mr. Jackson, as The Times's Alessandra Stanley once noted, is the Zelig of modern politics, popping up and blending in at momentous events. Colin Powell is a momentous event and Mr. Jackson is not going to miss it. Instead of seeing Mr. Powell as a rival, Mr. Jackson is now taking credit for creating a climate "for Colin and succeeding generations to come on."

"Our values are so much the same," he told me at the Rainbow Coalition office. "Both of us came out of backgrounds of material poverty and spiritual wealth. Both of us embraced the work ethic. Both of us are superpatriots. I fought in the domestic war with General King. He fought in foreign wars. We've both survived without any disgrace or scandal, with one family. Now we're both in the circle of people to make an impact in '96, and the fact that there are two people in that circle instead of one is a good thing."

He even made a mystical connection: "Do you recall the first moment in your consciousness? I remember sitting in the bed with my mother and she was showing me a picture of the troop my father was in and she said, 'He's coming home real soon on furlough.'"

Asked if General Powell should run in the party of Willie Horton, Mr. Jackson replied, "He could be a cleansing force for the Republican Party."

"I talked to Colin a couple days ago. Colin is hero material. He has all the right stuff."

Both sides, indeed.

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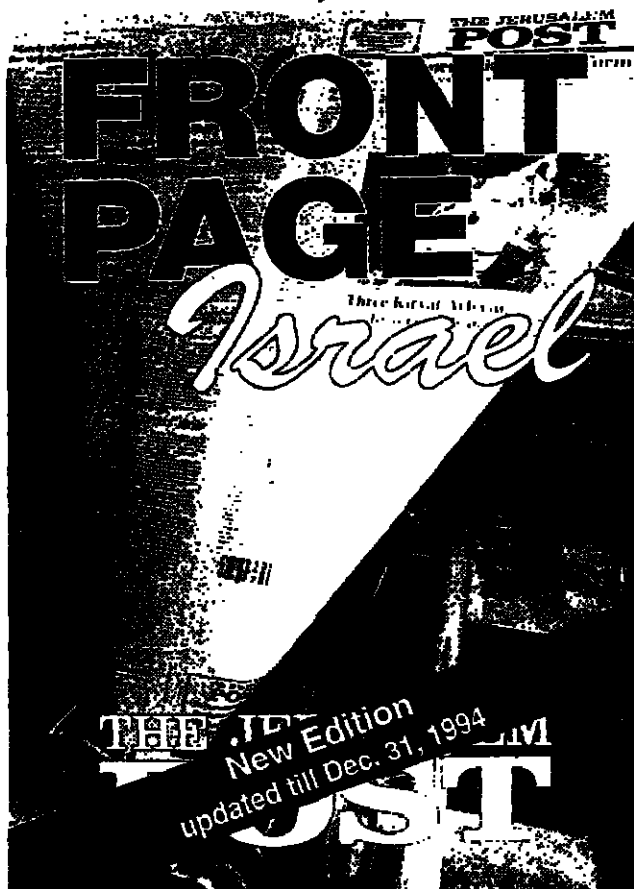
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## Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

## In Defense of Peace

WASHINGTON  
The Jewish New Year begins tonight, but my friend Abraham Foxman won't be in his regular seat at his Orthodox synagogue in Bergen County, N.J., where he was a director for 20 years. Mr. Foxman, director of the Anti-Defamation League, quit his synagogue after his rabbi wrote articles accusing Israel's Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, of leading the Jewish people on a Holocaust-like death march, because of his willingness to trade land for peace with the Palestinians. Says Mr. Foxman, himself a Holocaust survivor: "I could not tolerate belonging to a synagogue where the rabbi treats anyone who supports the peace process as a sinner."

Unfortunately, Mr. Foxman's experience is not unique. Some of the Orthodox Jewish press these days reads like Al Ahram in the 1950's, with weekly diatribes against Israel's leaders. What is encouraging is that a mainstream Jewish leader like Mr. Foxman has stepped forward to challenge this view. Polls show that two-thirds of American Jews support Mr. Rabin, but you would never know it listening to the tepid support he gets from some weak-kneed mainstream groups, like the Conference of Presidents.

## Rabin's vision of what Israel can be.

which hill. It's about what sort of state Israel should be. And the state Mr. Rabin wants Israel to be — if the security arrangements can be negotiated — is a state that is not endlessly occupying two million Palestinians, with the moral rot that produces.

The opponents of the peace process want to turn the Jewish people from advocates of a universal morality into just another tribe grubbing for its maximum interests, whatever the consequences. It may be that the Arabs are so inalterably hostile to Israel that Israel will have no choice but to adopt such a stance. But for the sake of those who elected him, and for the sake of future generations, Mr. Rabin is trying to test whether there is an Arab partner for a peace that allows Israel to remain true to its Jewish and democratic values — and be secure.

Thanks to the peace process with the Palestinians, Israel now has diplomatic or economic relations with half the Arab world, as well as with countries that shunned Israel in the past, like India, China and Vietnam. These have become huge markets for Israeli businesses and explain why Israel is now one of the world's fastest-growing economies. Some 80,000 Israelis visited Jordan this year. There would have been no peace treaty with King Hussein without the Israeli-Palestinian talks paving the way.

Yeah, that Rabin, what a sucker! He's giving up Israeli responsibility for patrolling the seven biggest Arab towns in the West Bank, and he's giving up Israel's responsibility to run the lives of every Palestinian there. And he's doing it without having to move a single Jewish settler, and he's doing it while maintaining Israel's military control along the Jordan River and the high ground in the West Bank, and he's doing it while setting up a test for Yasir Arafat to see if he can maintain this peace, because if he can't it will go no further.

Will all violence end tomorrow? Of course not. It was a 100-year war; it is not going to be a five-year peace. But it is sheer fantasy to think that halting the peace process will end terrorism. The only way to diminish Palestinian terrorism is to build incentives and controls into a peace agreement. Palestinians do not care a fig about what is good or bad for the Jews, but they do care about what is good or bad for themselves. This peace process, for the first time, has created a Palestinian majority which recognizes that to do good for itself, it must do good for Israel's security as well.

Mr. Rabin's critics treat him as if he were some misguided American liberal. Hardly. His peace process is built on three hard-nosed calculations — that maintaining the status quo is a strategy of despair, that because Israel cannot trust Palestinian intentions any peace agreement must control Palestinian military capabilities, and that if it all works, one day the Jews of Israel may have less of the land but more of a home.



# In Hollywood, the Producer is Likely to Be a Woman

By JAMES RYAN

A dozen or so powerful Hollywood players gathered on the patio of the Polo Lounge at the Beverly Hills Hotel a few weeks ago. Their number included several well-known producers, a couple of top agents and a studio executive or two. The air was charged with expectation.

A new Dream Team in the works? Yet another corporate merger? No, it was a baby shower for Denise Di Novi, 39, the producer of "Little Women," given by her pal Amy Pascal, the 37-year-old president of production at Turner Pictures.

"It was a little bit of business and a lot of 'Ooh, look at that little shirt!'" recalled Ms. Pascal during an interview in her book-lined 14th-floor corner office in Century City. The men can keep their front-row Lakers tickets and their Colorado white-water bonding rituals, she said. "We throw showers and go to swap meets on Sundays."

Though the "power shower" was not exactly evidence that a Girls' Club has been chartered in Hollywood, it is an indicator of the strides women have made in joining the ranks of Hollywood's players.

"When I made 'Heathers' in 1988, it was a really big deal that I was a woman," said Ms. Di Novi, who honed her skills in the Canadian film industry before graduating to "Edward Scissorhands," "Batman Returns" and "Ed Wood." "There was really a question of whether or not I could pull a movie off. People were asking: 'Is she tough enough? Does she have the strength to run a crew?'"

Hardly anyone asks those questions nowadays. Among this summer's movies with female producers or co-producers were "Something to Talk About," "Free Willy 2" and "The Bridges of Madison County." This month brings "Clockers," "Unstrung Heroes" and, opening on Friday, "Devil in a Blue Dress," "Moonlight and Valentino" and "To Die For." Due before Christmas are "Home for the Holidays," "Wild Bill," "Get Shorty" and "Father of the Bride II."

Though a woman's ability to produce a movie is no longer challenged, there remains a monetary gender gap. As in most fields, women in this job category are paid less than their male counterparts (20 percent to 40 percent less, by some estimates). While some producers—male and female—still earn millions, women with deals at film studios tend to receive smaller allowances for discretionary funds (money used to buy the rights to books, for example, or to develop scripts) than male producers.

In addition, there is anecdotal evidence suggesting that producers, of both sexes, are receiving less and less of the profits lately. While salaries of actors and directors continue to climb, most producers today work for a negotiable fixed fee and a tiny portion of the profits rather than a big chunk of the grosses. The days of fat-cat producer-moguls seem to be over.

Take away the money, and producing is an often thankless job, yet some women argue that it is a job for which nature has more than adequately prepared them. They say that maternal, problem-solving and juggling skills are well suited to managing the chaotic activity on a movie set, and that that is one reason so many women have been handed the chance. Another is that many will agree, however reluctantly, to work for less pay.

As evidenced by the Polo Lounge gathering, chilly relations among Hollywood's female power brokers, dating back to the late 1970's and 80's, appear to have ended. Members of the new generation of women producers, some guided by older women, are more comfortable with their place in the movie industry and more willing to lend a hand to others of the same sex.

This was not always the case. In

her recent autobiography, "They Can Kill You but They Can't Eat You," Dawn Steel, the studio chief turned producer, credits the producer Lynda Obst with inventing the term power shower when Ms. Obst organized a bridal shower nearly a decade ago for Ms. Steel. At the time, ambitious women in Hollywood were sometimes at odds with one another.

Ms. Obst was an aspiring producer who had spent two years developing the script for the 1983 film "Flashdance," only to see it handed over to Don Simpson and Jerry Bruckheimer. "There was a really deep feeling that crews wouldn't give a woman their support and actors wouldn't respect their authority," Ms. Obst recalled.

Ms. Steel was a low-level Paramount executive who fought to get the project made. As the battle for control and credit intensified, she and Ms. Obst became rivals.

"We realized we would either have to kill each other or like each other," Ms. Obst said. "We decided it would be much more productive if we liked each other. So Dawn and I went from loathed competitors to profound allies as we learned to cope with being thrown in the same vat."

The relationships among other women in the industry were not so supportive: envious and backbiting were more the rule. "We all had our eyes on each other rather than the jobs," said Paula Weinstein, whose credits include "Nine to Five" and "The Fabulous Baker Boys." That was when the studios were hiring token women executives, she said. "It seemed like if one person got a job, it was gone."

Some argue that little has changed. By and large, though, greater opportunities for women in the last few years have meant more opportunity for them to accept one another. This is especially true for the wave of women in their 20's and early 30's moving into the ranks of producers.

Ms. Pascal worked under Ms. Steel during Ms. Steel's days as president of Columbia Pictures. Now, returning the favor, she has given Ms. Steel a production deal at Turner. "I don't think they helped each other as much as they helped us and we help each other," Ms. Pascal said, contrasting the older generation with her own. "I think that's new. For a lot of women, the thing was fit into the boys' club."

In an industry in which maintaining personal relationships is paramount, an invitation to join a women's Sunday hiking group can be as sure a road to success as a charter membership in Beverly Hills's trendy cigar smoker's haven, the Havana Club. Among the hikers are Ms. Pascal, the producers Lili Fini Zanuck, Lauren Shuler-Donner and Allyn Stewart, and Lisa Henson, Columbia Pictures' president of production.

But for many women producers, the demands of marriage and motherhood preclude bonding rituals. "We all sort of make jokes about going on a rafting trip," said Ms. Di Novi, who is on leave for the birth of her second child. "But one of the reasons there's not more of a boys' club kind of thing for women is that every spare minute we have, we want to spend with our kids."

Wendy Finerman, 35, who has three children with her husband, Mark Canton, the chairman of the Columbia TriStar Motion Picture Group, agreed. "Four-hour Sunday hikes aren't an option for me," said Ms. Finerman, who produced "Forrest Gump."

While the 40-something generation that rose to prominence in the early 80's—Ms. Obst, Debra Hill, Sherry Lansing, Ms. Weinstein, Ms. Steel—broke new ground, a handful of women elbowed their way into jobs as producers long before them. Among the most remarkable was Helen Keller, who, despite all her handicaps, was a producer of the 1918 film "Deliverance." Mae West, though she didn't receive the credit, was a de facto producer on all her films, as was Mary Pickford. And in the 1940's the writer-producer Virginia Van



Steve Martin with the producer Nancy Meyers on the set of "Father of the Bride II"—She believes that work is easier with a male partner.

Upp oversaw a dozen movies, including "Cover Girl" and "Gilda," as vice president of Columbia Pictures. With few exceptions, these pioneering women were either partnered with or tutored by men.

"There's not one of us who can't give you the name of the man that was there for them," said Ms. Zanuck, who is married to Richard Zanuck, producer of "The Sting." "I had my husband. Sherry Lansing would tell you Dan Melnick, who gave her her first job as a reader. Dawn Steel had Barry Diller."

Until just a few years ago, unless she was Julia Roberts or Barbra Streisand, a woman had almost to be paired with a man to qualify for Hollywood's Power 100 list. Gale Anne Hurd made it when she produced "Terminator" and "Aliens," both directed by her husband, James Cameron. Ms. Lansing made it when she joined up with Stanley Jaffe to make "Fatal Attraction." "The Accused" and "Black Rain." Ms. Shuler-Donner teamed up with her husband, the director Richard Donner, and Kathleen Kennedy ran Amblin Entertainment with her husband, Frank Marshall.

The writer-producer Nancy Meyers, whose string of comedy hits began with the 1980 film "Private Benjamin," has worked exclusively with her husband, the director Charles Shyer. On her own, said Ms. Meyers, 45, she doubted that anyone would have taken her seriously as a producer. "A lot of women have male partners because it's easier, definitely easier," she said. "Ideas are more easily accepted. You better believe I liked having him in the chair next to me."

Perhaps the biggest difference between the group of women producers now in their 40's and the up-and-coming generation is that few younger women view a male partner as necessary. Deborah Schindler had Dawn Steel as a mentor and also worked under David Putnam at Columbia Pictures and Martin Scorsese. She has produced "Waiting to Exhale," due next month, with a man, Ezra Swerdlow. But it is just as likely that a woman will join forces with other women.

Dolly Hall, 33, a tough-talking former actress who produced "The Incredibly True Adventure of Two Girls in Love," said she views herself as "part of a sisterhood of independent producers who are women." Not a day goes by, she added, when she doesn't call up another woman to ask where to find a piece of equipment cheap or how to deal with New York labor laws.

"It's also very important for me to work with women writers and directors," she said. "It's not really a girls' club, but young women film makers coming out of film school feel more comfortable working with

women producers."

Shelby Stone, who was a co-producer of the low-budget "Drop Squad" for Spike Lee's production company, 40 Acres and a Mule, agreed. "Compared to when I started 10 years ago," she said, "there are so many more cool women working in this business who are not flipped out about sharing the room."

Stacey Sher, 32, who for several years worked under Ms. Obst and her partner, Ms. Hill, and is now president of Jersey Films, added: "We think less about being a woman. There used to be what Gloria Steinem called 'queen-beeism.' You so identified with the ruling class that you thought you had to distance yourself from other women and fight for the few slots."

When possible, they say, they hold the door open for other women. Ms. Stone, for example, insisted that half the 30-odd interns hired for "Drop Squad" be women. Andrea Sperling, a 26-year-old graduate of the University of California, Santa Barbara, who has already produced five low-budget features, says she hires as many female department heads as she can.

"I would never hire a woman just because she's a woman," she said,

"but I like to see talented women come in, especially in jobs that are typically male, like grip and electric."

Though the generation of women producers now in their 40's insist that they, too, give breaks to other women, few can point specifically to younger women they've taken under their wing and guided to a position of power. One producer in her early 30's who had such a mentor said the older woman had refused to speak to her for four years after she took a position at another company. Another said she would never consider calling any of the older women producers for help "because they have such frightening reputations."

"I don't care what people say," added a former studio vice president who spoke on the condition that she not be identified. "A woman is still the last person you look to to give you a job in this town."

Many members of both generations acknowledged that there may be such a thing as a woman's touch. Though some women are guilty of screaming colorful deprecations on set and off, many women belie the stereotype of a Ferrari-driving megalomaniac with bad phone manners.

Ms. Obst illustrated the differences between men's and women's producing styles with an anecdote.

A few years ago, she called a male producer for advice when she was having trouble firing someone from her set. His reply, she said, was: "Don't be ridiculous. The first thing I ever do when I get to the set is fire somebody. That's how they know I'm the boss."

Ms. Obst, whose comfortable office on the Sony lot is decorated with Buddhist statuary and wicker furniture, said she remembered thinking: "This is the difference between a testosterone-driven personality and the way women produce—through positive reinforcement. Here I am, five feet tall, and I go on a set, I don't have to fire anyone. But they all think I'm completely formidable because they know I'll fight the studio to the death. I feel like it's the perfect completion of the den-mother archetype inside me."

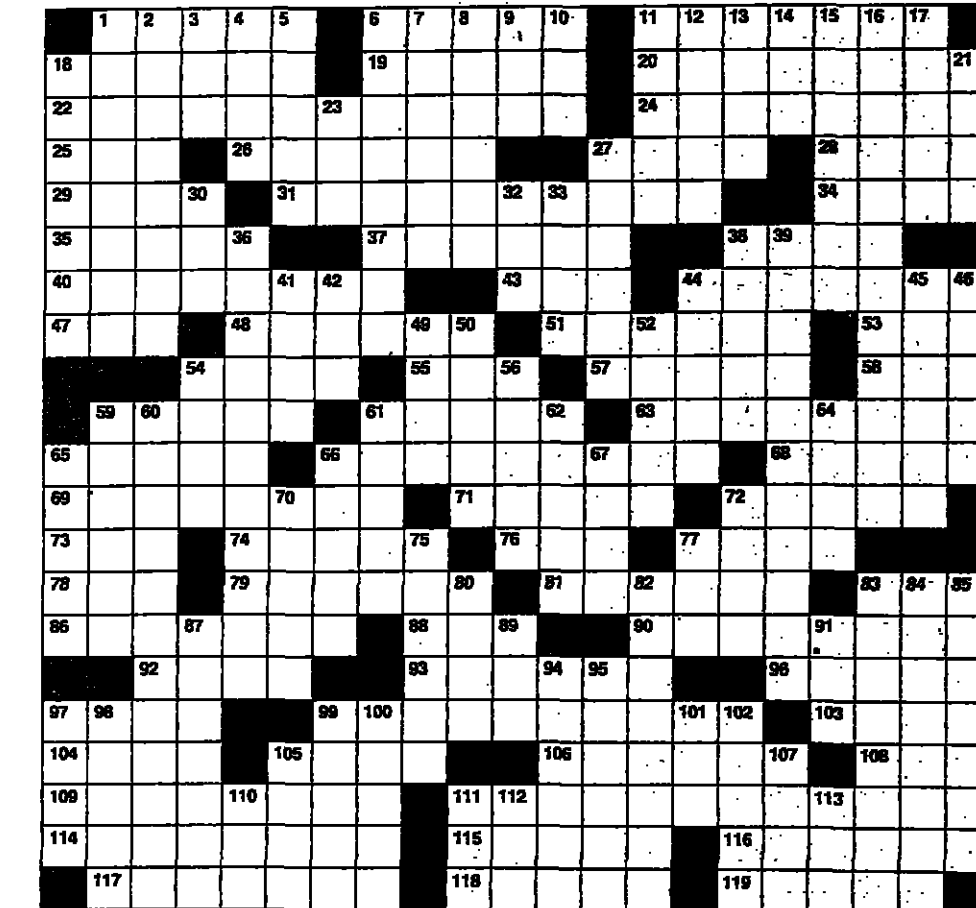
Ms. Di Novi, who produced "Little Women," added: "I always say I can't picture a guy as a producer. To me it's a female, maternal job. Women tend to approach producing in a more maternal, nurturing way. And they are very good because of that."

## EXTENSIONS

By RANDOLPH ROSS / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

### ACROSS

- 1 Flagrant
- 6 Bradley cohort
- 11 N.B.A. statistic
- 18 Cover up
- 19 Radioactivity unit
- 20 Food grouping
- 22 Boat or boy
- 24 Conscious
- 25 Sit-ups improve them
- 26 Dark brews
- 27 Object of disgust
- 28 — precedent
- 29 Bud Fisher cartoon character
- 31 Breaker or zone
- 34 Hitch
- 35 Censor's sound
- 37 Consonant (with)
- 38 "This man is now become —"
- 40 Martian ET's
- 43 — Miss
- 44 Where seeds are sown
- 47 Monopoly quartet: Abbr.
- 48 Have more firepower than
- 51 Fighting force
- 53 Chosen number
- 54 Berlin's "—Lovely Day Today"



- 55 U.S.O. audience
- 57 Audited
- 58 Singing syllable
- 59 Baubles
- 61 "Maria —" (40's song)
- 63 Roast repartee
- 65 -50
- 66 Fix and cut
- 68 Smog cause
- 69 Tower of Pisa, e.g.
- 71 Words on a Wonderland cake
- 72 Cav competitor
- 73 Tokyo, once
- 74 Rednecks have red ones
- 76 Equine mother
- 77 Alternative to wax
- 78 Mantelpiece piece
- 79 Cry of success
- 81 Pax —
- 83 Partisan
- 86 Struffs
- 88 Unfamiliar
- 90 Nathan Detroit's doll
- 92 1939 Bolger co-star
- 93 Understands
- 96 Soprano Berger et al.
- 97 Told, as tales
- 99 Belly or barrel
- 103 U.S.N. V.I.P.
- 104 Fresh words

- 105 Pair
- 106 Like some suckers
- 108 Sports car of old
- 109 H.P.O. and others
- 111 Goer or maker
- 114 Primitive time
- 115 1936 Olympic hero
- 116 Stream migrators
- 117 Pump pads
- 118 Frozen mountains
- 119 Oboes and bassoons
- DOWN
- 1 Like beads
- 2 Wharf workers
- 3 Fifth qtrs.
- 4 Mother and daughter
- 5 Amish and Hasidim
- 6 Using elbow grease
- 7 St. Edward's University site
- 8 Pats down
- 9 Prussian pronoun
- 10 Bylaw, for short
- 11 Part of N.A.A.C.P.: Abbr.
- 12 Knife type
- 13 Duvant's pseudonym
- 14 N.Y.C. subway
- 15 Cut out
- 16 Keeper or saver
- 17 Actress Berger

- 18 Star —
- 21 Without women
- 23 Sodom survivor
- 27 Comes to a point
- 30 Hanol holiday
- 32 D.D.E. sphere
- 33 Gymnastics coach
- 36 Graph or copy
- 38 Murphy with medals
- 39 Stand or mother
- 41 Touse
- 42 Sched. approximation
- 44 Trio of destiny
- 45 Film director Herzog
- 46 Some window treatments
- 49 Unattractive fruit
- 50 Maria, to Ted
- 52 Ristorante exhortation
- 54 Favorite
- 56 Three-time P.G.A. champ
- 59 Nerve cell parts
- 60 Law or let
- 61 Acted humanly
- 62 Flower oil
- 64 Sumptuousness
- 65 Jam
- 66 King called "The Short"

- 67 BB's
- 70 Rock bottom
- 72 Anti-nuclear testing org.
- 75 Not quite burned
- 77 Walleful
- 80 Map abbr.
- 82 Like pure energy
- 83 Schemed
- 84 AC/DC gadgets
- 85 Wise counselors
- 87 The Dokes, e.g.
- 89 B.Y.U.'s league
- 91 Crescent line
- 94 Tyke

- 95 Yard fence
- 97 Heathrow sights
- 98 Serial opener
- 99 Tennis legend Don
- 100 Lets up
- 101 D.C. clock setting
- 102 Not so well done
- 105 Numbered circle
- 107 Where the Clintons met
- 110 Business V.I.P.
- 111 Whom Antony addressed
- 112 Be in for
- 113 "—got it"

### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

STEPS FEAR GRNO FAYAS  
ARSON LARA ZEAL IDONT  
SEANOCASEY ANNEBRONTE  
SYNDROME BURRO ATREST  
STRE BUNKY WIRE  
SOMETH VENCE SHREDDER  
UNSED MORNENSKINE TIE  
LEAD BATTY AIRS ACHE  
FAA VACUAVHVEL BIKED  
ANCHITRA ATTLED GADFLY  
ADANTS RUMBS SURE  
BOSLEY HENCE OFFENDATE  
ADIAS BUTTERCRASH HRA  
RIES FARE AVIS SEAL  
BOO VACTVITHEAN DEICE  
INVOICES ONEAL DEASTE  
BLIN ANNAI TON  
ATTILA BLESS TREDDONT  
LEOTOLSTOY EDWARDUA  
INNEW TUNE TOIL PETAL  
STORY USED SAME EGSEN



Forest Whitaker, left, Deborah Schindler and Ezra Swerdlow on the set of "Waiting to Exhale."



סדרת האל

# A husband's murder opens up a taboo subject

'Who can know what happens between a husband and his wife?'  
Judith Sudilovsky reports on family violence in the Arab sector

**A**BDALLAH Abu-Amar was a good man with a clean heart who worked 10 hours a day operating construction equipment. His wife, Nadia, kept a neat house, was a good cook and liked to laugh. They were both well liked by each other's families.

But even in a small village like Fureidis, where they lived, no one ever really knows what goes on between a husband and wife.

On the night of August 13, Nadia, 28, stabbed Abdallah, 30, to death with a knife after he allegedly began beating her with a rolling pin. She is now awaiting trial on manslaughter charges.

Nadia's family maintains it was self-defense. Her family says he threw her out of the house half-naked after a fight. His family claims she had a lover and murdered her husband in cold blood.

"He would be jealous of her speaking with other men, but from what I saw, he was always good to her. Her family loved him too," says Dahoud Nizar, the owner of a minimarket a few houses away from where Nadia and Abdallah lived. "I didn't see or hear anything about beatings. But who can know what happens between a husband and his wife?"

Once, two years ago, Nizar gave Nadia some free samples he got from suppliers. Abdallah got angry and hit her, recalls Abdallah's brother Ibrahim Abu-Amar. He forbade her to go to the minimarket again.

Abdallah spoiled Nadia, says her sister-in-law Suad Abu-Amar, and she was always laughing. She had a closet full of clothes and shoes. They had no children so they went out every night to the sea or to Haifa or to Tel Aviv.

True, Nadia liked to laugh, says Nadia's sister Nabila Jabarin, but she also spent a lot of time crying. Two years into her marriage, Nadia began showing Nabila bruises from Abdallah's beatings.

"I told her to accept it. That maybe it would pass. That it wasn't so bad," says Nabila, 24. "I told her to look at how our

mother suffered from our father's beatings and how she hadn't told anyone."

If Nadia had been beaten, counters Abdallah's oldest brother Salim Abu-Amar, he and his family would have heard it. Abdallah and Nadia's house is right on top of his own house and they always heard every noise the couple made, he says.

"I never saw or heard anything," Salim says.

This "hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil" attitude toward violence against women is very common within the Arab sector, according to Arab women leaders.

"The entire subject of violence against women is taboo," says psychologist Nabila Espanioly, director of Al Tuffal Pedagogical and Multi-Purpose Women's Center in Nazareth. "It is a question of family honor and has to stay within the family. Even social workers used to try to solve the problem within the family. Now we know we have to work more on this."

Nadia's uncle, Naim Khader, echoes these sentiments.

"When a husband fights with his wife, it is not our custom to intervene," says Khader, whom Nadia called on several times to help her patch things up with Abdallah. "If I had thought that it would reach the point of somebody's death, I would have looked for help."

But even when the abuse does come out into the open, more often than not it is the wife who is blamed for not understanding her husband, for not pleasing him, or for not obeying him, Na'amat legal adviser Amal Khoury says.

In Nadia's case, rumors began to spread about how she brought a lover that night to her small apartment — the one right on top of Salim's house and surrounded by the houses of other family members.

Four years ago it was discovered that Abdallah could not have children, which deeply upset him. Nadia wanted children and she would stockpile children's clothes in their closet and sometimes needle him about not



Nadia and Abdallah Abu-Amar. 'Who can know what happens between a husband and his wife?'

being able to have children.

At one point during their five-year marriage, the couple separated for two months, with Nadia returning to her parents' house down the road.

"Inside the house Abdallah's manhood was threatened, so by hitting her he reasserted himself as the man of the house," Khader conjectures. "They did go on trips and he did spoil her and he was very good to her family, but that doesn't justify what he did inside his house."

THERE ARE no specific statistics available on violence against Arab women, but it is believed that one out of every six women is abused. In the past two years, 215 women have come to the only battered-women's shelter for Arabs, says Aida Touma-Soliman, director of Women Against Violence in Nazareth.

"When the trial starts, we have to take action similar to that taken for Carmela Buhbut," she says. "But no matter how much I am for demonstrations, they don't raise the level of information within the community. We need to make an organized, long-term program. A demonstration is good but it is over with and forgotten soon."

Despite the lack of information and knowledge on battered women, the situation is much better today than it was seven years ago, says Touma-Soliman. Nevertheless, several months ago there was stiff opposition in Taibe when a new battered-women's shelter was to be established there. Even the mayor, Rafik Hajich, admitted to occasionally slapping his wife, something he referred to as "caresses."

When Nadia stabbed her husband in August, many of the

women's rights leaders were on vacation. They have now returned and are looking into the case. Still, they say, Nadia's case hasn't been covered like the Buhbut case was in the Hebrew press, and the Arabic press has also just glossed over it.

"This happens daily in our village," Khader says. "We can't ignore it. We have to deal with it at its roots, show men that there are one hundred and one other ways of dealing with their wives. Until now there has not been a serious article on this issue in the Arab press, nor in the Hebrew press."

There are many village women who don't know where to turn to for help, he says. Nadia didn't know.

Na'amat has contacted Nadia's lawyer, David Iftach, and they have agreed to work together. Other women's group like Isha Le'isha in Haifa are planning to be present at Nadia's trial.

Iftach hopes that the Carmela Buhbut case will have a positive effect on his client's case. He is pleading self-defense in the trial, which still does not have a court date.

"There is no doubt that the Supreme Court's decision [to reduce Buhbut's sentence] will have an influence," Iftach says. "Still, the two incidents are different because with Nadia the violence was not as extreme or over such a long period of time, but what she did was a spontaneous act. They were in the kitchen, he was beating her and so she reached for the first thing she found, which was a knife, and she stabbed him once."

Both families agree that the situation is difficult for the entire village. Even though Nadia's uncles went to pay their respects to Abdallah's brothers, there is still tension. Khader says things are fine, but Salim says it hurts him when he sees a member of Nadia's family. If she is released, it is unlikely that Nadia could go back to stay in her village.

A month before the incident, Nadia's mother Subhiya Jabarin filed for divorce from her husband of 30 years.

"I have suffered all my life and now I am crying all the time," she says. "Abdallah was like a son to me and Nadia is my daughter. Now he is dead and she is in jail. My heart is breaking. Now I would tell all women who are abused, Arab or Jew, go to the police, go to a shelter. This is very difficult for the village. It is not good for anyone."



## It takes brains, not brawn to combat a bully

PARENTING  
RUTH MASON

**M**y eight-year-old son is small and has landed in a class full of tough kids. He complains that the other kids in school hit him and he says he's the weakest kid in his class. My husband believes he should hit back but my son really believes hitting is wrong and he tries to stay out of fights. My husband also worries about his self image. How can we help him cope with this situation?

Stuart Chesner, director of Matara Institute, a clinic specializing in the treatment of behavior and emotional problems of children and adolescents:

Once, when I was in ninth grade, I was on an empty subway car in New York City when these two very big, menacing-looking high school guys enter the car and sit on either side of me. They could have sat anywhere in the car — and I realized this was trouble. After saying a prayer I thought, I only have one hope of surviving this ride. I turned to the kid on my right, smiled and said, Hi, How you doin'. He looked shocked, and said, What you say? I said, How you doin'? He said, Okay, How are you? I said, Okay. You guys ride the train a lot? At the next station, he says to his friend, Come on let's get out of here, this guy's okay. Bullying involves depersonalizing the victim. If you can do something that puts a little of light of empathy into the bully's head, most of the time he will stop doing it. Most kids aren't bad kids; they bully because it's a game of superiority.

Despite what most Anglo-Saxon parents think the first time they walk through an Israeli school, the average Israeli pupil is not a psychopath! Most kids won't hurt another kid when they're made to feel some empathy and understanding of the other child's position.

It's a hard truth to accept, but parents can't usually solve their children's social problems. It's always best to try to let the child solve the problem by himself and for the parents to show some empathy and offer guidance if they can. Assuming your son has tried ignoring the bullies and the problem has persisted, he can try a few different approaches: First, he can try to find a big, strong friend. Second, he can try to enlist allies by talking to some other kids in his class and telling them that it really bothers him when he's picked on and ask, Can you try to help me out? Third, he can try to talk to the bullies themselves individually and not when he's in the middle of an encounter, and give them a message that has a couple of components: I know that you're bigger and stronger than me; and it really upsets me that we fight and I'd like to ask you that we stop it. This is much more effective than having one parent call another, which can further distance your kid from the others. The idea is to let the kids see your child as a person. From my experience this can really stop bullying. Only if this doesn't work, would I suggest that you try calling the other parents.

About hitting back: Most people would agree that if a child is getting picked on physically, it's natural for him to fight back. Sometimes a child needs to hear from his parents that if he feels he needs to fight back in order to feel safe, it's okay — and even if he gets in trouble with his parents he won't be angry with him because you understand.

On the other hand, if a kid really has a value of pacifism, you can encourage and applaud that, telling him you know how hard and admirable it is to maintain that value even under trying circumstances.

If you have a question about parenting, write to: Parenting, POB 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

## Meet the zebra mussel, a feared creature the size of a thumbnail

**T**HE latest stowaways slipped into California aboard a 44-foot yacht named *Resolute*. Clinging to its hull, they were spotted and quickly seized by a keen-eyed inspector at a border station in the High Sierra town of Truckee.

It was yet another case of foreign invaders nabbed at the California border.

For the fourth time in the past six months, an exotic species of mussel has been detected on vacationers' yachts at border inspection stations.

This isn't just any mussel; this is the most dreaded animal species in North America.

If there were ever a foreign immigrant that justifiably invokes fear in California, it's the innocuous-looking, black-and-white striped zebra mussel, that is only slightly bigger than the tip of a thumb.

Nearly invisible, the mussel is capable of reproducing so rapidly and clinging to virtually any hard surface that it can clog pipelines and disable water systems within a few years of its arrival in a lake or stream.

The recent discoveries of zebra mussels at California's border are reverberating

throughout the state, since water engineers know it can threaten the security of the massive water systems that are the state's lifeline.

In an area as dependent on the movement of water as California, zebra mussels can wreak havoc.

The biggest fear is that they will — or perhaps already did — infiltrate the State Water Project and the federal Central Valley Project that supply cities, suburbs and farmers throughout California.

"Nothing equals the threat of zebra mussels to water systems and the freshwater ecosystems in California," said Dan Peterson, chief of the state Department of Water Resources' environmental assessment branch.

"If it gets here, it will be a big problem. Or should I say when it gets here."

The zebra mussel, alias *Dreissena polymorpha*, invokes such fear because its ranks can grow thousands-fold in just a year.

It has no natural predators, and there is virtually no known way of stopping it from transforming a water system once it arrives.

"There is nothing you can do to kill

zebra mussels that won't also kill other organisms that are valuable to you, including people," said Dave Culver, an Ohio State zoology professor who is studying the creature's spread.

NATIVE To an area of Russia near the Caspian Sea, the zebra mussels are fairly new arrivals in the US.

Yet they have already caused an ecological crisis in the Great Lakes, where water systems have been shut down in some areas and maintenance costs have skyrocketed.

Apparently traveling in the ballast water of ships originating in the former Soviet Union, the mussels were first discovered in Canada's Lake St. Clair in 1988. Within a year, they had colonized virtually every solid object in western Lake Erie. Since then, they have swept through all the Great Lakes as well as the Mississippi, Ohio, Hudson, Illinois, Arkansas and Tennessee rivers, most likely transported on barges.

"I thought it would never get beyond the Great Lakes," said Dave Garton, an Indiana University associate professor of biology who was the first to find zebra mussels in US waters. "Boy, was I wrong."

Each female mussel lays as many as 1 million eggs each year, and although only about 20,000 of these survive, their population can multiply with astounding speed.

"It's mind numbing when you stop to think about it," Garton said. "I've never seen an organism so dominate a system in every way as this one has."

To many researchers, it's not a question of if it will invade California lakes and streams. It's a question of when. Culver gives it a "100 percent chance" of eventually infesting the state.

"The whole water system for California is at risk," he said. "It will be there ... sooner or later."

Some biologists, however, believe that the West will be somewhat protected, at least for a while.

"The reason they spread so much in the East is from navigation. Barges have spread them everywhere, and you don't have that in the West," said Amy Benson, a fisheries biologist with the National Biological Service.

"The Continental Divide is going to be a pretty good barrier for quite a while," (Los Angeles Times)

## The mice from Mars are really from Manila

**F**RED Flintstone is not from Bedrock. He is actually from Manila, a congested Asian city of seven million people. So are the Biker Mice from Mars, and Donald Duck.

American and other foreign cartoon producers are increasingly setting up shop in the Philippines because of lower production costs and the country's reputation as the home of talented artists who understand American culture.

Television cartoons have not been produced in the US since the late '70s because of high labor costs. About 90 percent of all American television cartoons are produced in Asia, according to industry estimates.

But most television cartoons are made for the American market. English is an official language in this former American colony.

Familiarity with US culture gives Filipinos an advantage over other Asian competitors in the animation field, according to industry executives.

Over the past 10 years, four major animation companies employing more than 1,700 people and several smaller studios have opened in Manila.

Such major studios as Disney, Marvel, Warner Bros. and Hanna-Barbera send storyboards — a sequence of rough sketches outlining the action of the cartoon — and voice tracks to the Philippines.

Filipino artists and technicians draw, paint and film about 20,000 sketches, mainly by hand, for every 30-minute episode.

The material is then sent back to the US or Europe where sound effects and music are added.

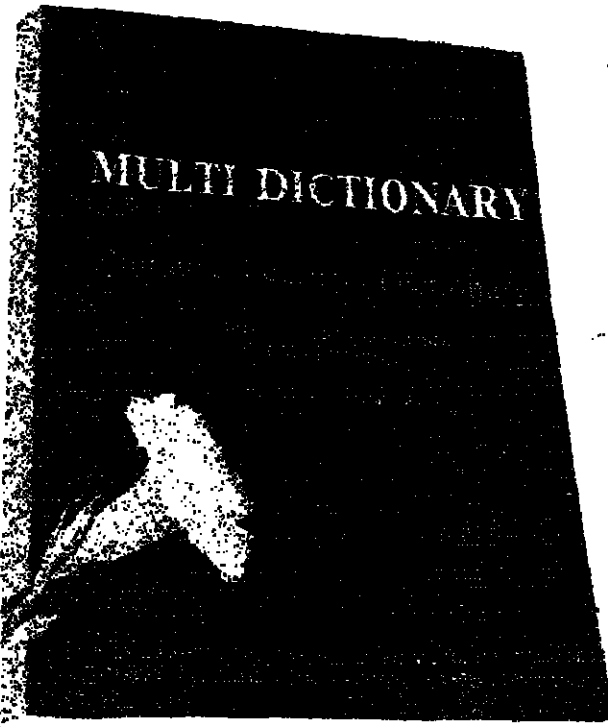
A 30-minute cartoon costs about \$130,000 to produce in the Philippines, compared to at least \$500,000 in the US. Philippine studios are also cheaper than most of their Asian competitors.

Philippine studios have begun to produce their own cartoons. Fil-Animations is producing two cartoons written and directed by its employees, Bill Dennis, Fil-Animations General manager, hopes to sell the material to the Cartoon Network.

"It's really great because now the artists actually are going to get to see their names in the credits," Dennis said.

(AP)

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1995

## US Federal Reserve holds interest rates steady

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The US Federal Reserve decided yesterday to leave interest rates unchanged amid mounting signs that the 4½-year-old economic recovery has gotten its second wind and is back on track.

With growth speeding up and inflation fading, the central bank's policy-making Federal Open Market Committee had little reason to alter policy now, although some analysts still expect it to cut short-term rates further in the months ahead.

The Federal Open Market Committee meeting ended at 1:20 p.m. There is no further announcement, central bank spokesman Joseph Coyne said.

Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan told Congress on Friday that the economy was looking up and that growth was not being held back by the comparatively high level of short-term interest rates.

The Fed cut short-term interest rates for the first time in nearly

three years in July, trimming the federal funds rate that commercial banks charge each other for money by a quarter percentage point to 5½ percent.

But it has held rates steady since then as the economy has shown signs of shaking off a second-quarter slowdown.

Greenspan said he expects growth in the current quarter to top the second quarter's anemic 1.1% pace and analysts anticipate a further strengthening in the months ahead.

Some though still expect the central bank to cut rates one more time before the year is out to give the economy a helping hand into the 1996 presidential election year.

The Fed's goal is to keep the expansion that began more than four years ago going at a rate around 2½ percent a year - enough to create jobs without firing up inflation.

The trigger for the central

bank's next rate cut could be an agreement between the Republican-led Congress and the Clinton administration on a plan to balance the federal government budget, analysts said.

Although lower government budget deficits should help the economy in the long-run by freeing up money for use by the private sector, they could crimp growth in the short-run by cutting back on outlays to the elderly and other groups.

Greenspan stopped well short of promising a rate cut last week in response to action on the budget. But the Fed chief did say the central bank would take the budget moves into account in setting interest rates.

Both Congress and the administration agree on the need to end the red ink. They are at odds, however, over how to do that and an agreement does not seem likely until well after the start of the 1996 fiscal year on October 1.

## US consumer confidence dips in September

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Consumer confidence eased in September after rising in the previous two months as Americans grew more uneasy about the job outlook, a key survey reported Monday.

The Conference Board, a business research group, said its index of consumer confidence declined to 97.4 in September from 102.4 in August. The index works off a 1985 base of 100.

The survey, based on a sample of 5,000 US households, is conducted monthly by NFO Research Inc. of Greenwich, Conn.

Although optimists far outweighed pessimists, worries are mounting over the outlook

for jobs and for business. Slightly fewer consumers now say jobs are "plentiful," and a larger proportion report jobs are "hard to get."

"That corroborates some of the information we've seen in recent weeks in the unemployment claims data, suggesting that the labor market is perhaps softening up," said Anthony Chan, chief economist at Banc One Investment Advisors Corp.

The board said less than 24 percent of those polled described business conditions as "good," down from nearly 27% in August.

Compared with August, a smaller proportion of consumers also expect their families'

incomes to rise in the next six months.

The expectations component of the index, designed to chart consumer expectations about the economy, also declined to 89.4 in September from 94.7 in August.

Dana Johnson, vice president and head of market analysis at First Chicago Capital Markets, said the Conference Board data reinforces other reports about a weakening of consumer confidence.

"It makes a lot of sense," Johnson said, while downplaying the long-term impact of the decline. "In general, consumer confidence has moved sideways for about a year."

## Treasury publishes new pension fund regulations

JOSE ROSENFIELD

PENSION fund members will be more exposed to the consequences of management decisions under the new regulations for the establishment of new pension funds that were published on Sunday by the Treasury.

Should a pension fund accumulate an actuarial surplus of over 4 percent of its obligations, it will be able to increase the fund's members' benefits subject to the Treasury's approval. A fund with such surplus will have to deposit up to 3% of the surplus in a special risk fund from which it will draw from in the future should it accumulate an actuarial deficit and any amount over the 3% can be used to benefit members.

On the flip side, if the fund registers an actuarial deficit of over 3% of its obligations, it will have to draw from its special risk fund to balance itself and if such means do not suffice, it may reduce member's benefits subject to the Treasury's approval.

Under the new rules, pension premiums will remain unchanged at 17.5% of pensionable income. However, pensionable income will now be limited to twice the national mean wage. Pension funds will no longer be allowed to receive one-time lump payments.

Instead wage-earners will have to pay their monthly premiums and the self-employed, their quarterly premiums. The funds will be forbidden to accept lump-sum

payments for late payments for a period of over six months.

The pension funds will ensure the payment of annuities following retirement, death or work disability. Retirement annuities will be paid after the age of 65 for men and from the age of 60 for women. Should a man want to retire early at 60, he will be able to receive his pension, but it will be based on his accumulated rights at that period.

Death annuities will be paid in cases of death of an insured worker or retiree. The payment to the widow or widower will be at least 50% of the expected pension rights based on the salary at the time of death. Total payments to survivors will not exceed 100% of the insured salary.

Retirement-age fund members who do not have a spouse and children under 21 years of age, will be allowed to stop paying life insurance and instead allow the fund to increase their retirement annuity.

Disability insurance will provide a minimum payment of 40% of retirement annuities, but will not exceed 70% of the insured salary.

The new regulations will apply to new pension fund members which joined a fund from January 1, 1995. In addition, individuals who were pension fund members

at the end of last year and stopped paying premiums for a period of over six months thereafter, will also be considered new members.

However, a member who stopped paying premiums six months before December 31, 1994, and resumed payments no later than June 30, 1995, will not be considered a new pension fund member.

New pension funds will have to be run by a single managing company which will be allowed to own subsidiaries to assist in activities related to the running of the fund. It will also be allowed to manage provident funds which are not entitled to receive special government bonds with subsidized yields of 5.3%. By contrast, the pension funds will invest 70% of the members' payments in those special bonds.

The minimum capital requirement for the new pension funds will be NIS 5 million. Within a two-year period, the funds will have to have a minimum membership of 1,500 to be able to continue operating. While under the minimum membership, a fund will have to acquire secondary insurance against death and disability payment obligations.

The funds will be allowed to deduct up to 8% in management fees from the pension premiums and an additional 0.25% from the accounts of members who have stopped paying their premiums.

All existing funds that accepted new members since the beginning of the year will have to accept them into a new fund. The new fund will be managed separately from the existing fund, although it will be allowed to purchase services from the existing fund at realistic prices. The new fund initially will have no capital requirements and will be allowed to accumulate it from management fees.

## UK publishers end century of book price-fixing

LONDON (AP) - A century of price-fixing by British publishers collapsed yesterday as three major publishers withdrew from a retail pricing agreement.

HarperCollins, Random House, and Penguin UK all announced they were jumping into a free market. In Penguin's case, that opened the possibility at last of discounting *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith's classic text on unfettered markets.

"It's the end of an era," said Tim Godfray, chief executive of the Booksellers Association, who predicted that independent book shops and consumers would both lose out as supermarkets and big chains pushed cut-price best-sellers.

But the demise of the agreement may also inject life into the dormant publishing industry, which has suffered declining sales in recent years.

The Net Book Agreement, which forces all stores to charge the listed price for books, was already under attack by a government agency and some publishers.

The Publishers Association said it would decide tomorrow whether to continue defending the agreement against a legal challenge initiated earlier this year by the Office of Fair Trading. The association's president, Nicholas Chapman, predicted earlier this month that the agreement would collapse before Christmas.

W.H. Smith, the retail group which accounts for a fourth of British book sales, said it would cut prices on a range of books next week.

Peter Bamford, managing director of W.H. Smith Retail, said customers would get "better value across our whole product range."

But Godfray of the Booksellers Association said booksellers could not make money on cheap best-sellers, and would compensate by reducing the range of books stocked and raising the prices of other books. But he was resigned to the death of the old system.

"Yes, I think there are too many large publishers outside it now," Godfray said in a telephone interview.

Gail Roebuck, chairman and chief executive of Random House, said the industry consensus which had supported the NBA "has now self-evidently collapsed."

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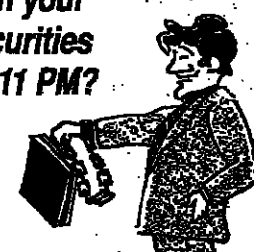
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Japanese yen (100)	4.7854	4.8110	0.20	1.14	4.7748	
Dutch florin	0.0074	0.0072	0.10	0.58	0.0072	
Swiss franc	3.0170	3.0587	0.05	0.58	3.0426	
French franc	1.6788	1.6920	0.02	0.29	1.6882	
Swedish krona	2.6157	2.6579	0.01	0.14	2.6388	
Norwegian krone	0.4282	0.4391	0.01	0.08	0.4284	
Denmark krone	0.4785	0.4886	0.01	0.08	0.4787	
Finland mark	0.5416	0.5505	0.01	0.08	0.5418	
Canadian dollar	0.6988	0.7111	0.01	0.08	0.6989	
Australian dollar	2.2252	2.2500	0.01	0.12	2.2252	
S. African rand	2.2882	2.3045	0.01	0.12	2.2883	
Argentine peso (10)	2.5407	2.5830	0.01	0.12	2.5408	
Austrian schilling (10)	0.8225	0.8358	0.01	0.04	0.8226	
Italian lira (1000)	1.0228	1.0388	0.01	0.04	1.0229	
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SOURCE: BANK LEUM







# Gutsy Europeans take Ryder Cup home

ROCHESTER, NY (AP) — The strength of the US Ryder Cup team was supposed to be depth. The strength of the European team was supposed to be experience.

It turned out it was the Europeans who had just enough of both to take the Cup back across the Atlantic for the first time since 1989.

And it couldn't have come at a better time. With the core of the team that earned Europe respect — and the Cup in 1985 — on the downside of their careers, doubts surfaced as to whether the European tour could still produce the talent to compete with America.

Those doubts were buried under an avalanche of huge pressure puts and gutsy 18th hole performances at Oak Hill Country Club.

"Europe needed this," Nick Faldo said after he defeated Curtis Strange in the absolutely critical match of the 31st Ryder Cup. "We needed a boost for our tour. We

couldn't have won at a better time."

And they couldn't have won at a more improbable time, trailing 9-7 going into the Sunday singles matches almost always dominated by the Americans.

But depth and experience came down clearly on the side of Europe.

Everyone on the European team won at least one match and its four least experienced players — Philip Walton, Per-Ulrik Johansson and David Gilford — had a combined 8-6 record. That's depth.

Meanwhile, the heart of the team — Faldo, Bernhard Langer, Ian Woosnam, Colin Montgomerie, Seve Ballesteros and Sam Torrance — all had big victories at important times in the competition.

They earned 3 1/2 critical points on Sunday. That's experience coming through.

American depth, on the other hand, was only four players deep on the 12-man team, it turned out.

Corey Pavin, who did everything he

could to keep the Cup in America, Loren Roberts, Phil Mickelson and Davis Love, were a combined 13-4. The rest of the team was 9-17.

And no one let the American side down more than its two most experienced players. The 43-year-old Ben Crenshaw and 40-year-old Strange were both 0-3, the only players on either team shut out in the Ryder Cup.

Throw in 41-year-old Jay Haas and they had a combined 1-9 record.

Strange, one of the two captain's choices made by his Wake Forest buddy Larry Wadkins, bogeyed the last three holes to blow a 1-up lead and drop the crushing match to Faldo.

With the US needing just another half-point to keep the Cup with a 14-14 tie it raised questions as to what the outcome might have been if Lee Janzen had been on the team.

With five Americans — Peter Jacobsen,

Brad Faxon, Couples, Strange and Haas — all going to the 18th green with their match on the line, the US was able to get only the half-point from Couples' gutsy halve with Woosnam.

Instead there were performances just good enough to win by people with names unfamiliar to most American golf fans — Howard Clark, David Gilford and Philip Walton.

"The Europeans played awfully well," Wadkins said. "Sometimes you just have to hand it to the guys that win."

Some of Wadkins' players — Jacobsen,

Faxon and Strange — took that too literally, virtually handing matches to the Europeans by missing key putts on the final three holes.

In the end, it was either one of the greatest comebacks in the history of the Ryder Cup or one of the greatest collapses, depending on which side of the Atlantic it's viewed from.

# Barcelona again

DEREK FATTAL and agencies

HAPOEL Beersheba's Euro-nightmare finally came to an end at Barcelona's Non Camp ground last night, as Viko Hadad's side met with another stinging defeat in the second leg of its UEFA Cup tie, falling 5-0, and losing 12-0 on aggregate.

Beersheba fired the first shot in the gigantic 115,000-seat stadium with Sergei Gussiev breaking on the right but firing wide in the 6th minute.

That proved to be one of Hapoel's all too rare ventures into Barcelona territory as the Catalans began to impose a stranglehold in midfield that confined the visitors to their own half.

Johan Cruyff's men began to turn the screws and the 35,000 strong crowd did not have to wait long for the opening goal. Barcelona's Gaudiana fastened onto a messy clearance from Shlomo Eliaz and his shot beat Shaul Smadja in the Beersheba goal from 18 meters out in the 11th minute.

Romanian star George Hagi scored the second and final goal of the first half again from long range in the 27th minute. The Beersheba defenders failed to

make any telling challenge and Hagi picked his spot, unleashing a ferocious drive beyond Smadja's reach.

The home side began the second period in top gear. Substitute De La Peña, the star of the first leg, played a perfect pass to increase the scoreline seven minutes after the restart.

Hagi had a hand in the next two goals pumping in a corner for Carreras to head in (62), and passing to Amor who beat Smadja with ease (66).

In other UEFA Cup action last night, goalkeeper Peter Schmeichel scored a dramatic late equalizer but Manchester United went out, held 2-2 at home by Russia's Rotor Volgograd.

With the first leg score 0-0, Rotor advances on the strength of scoring two goals away from home. Vladimir Vukobratovic and Oleg Vereschnikov summed the Old Trafford fans with goals in the first 24 minutes. Paul Scholes replied in the 59th minute and Danish goalkeeper Schmeichel headed the equalizer three minutes from the end.

Also last night, Monaco beat Leeds 1-0, but Leeds advanced to the second round 3-1 on aggregate after its one-road triumph two weeks ago. Horie Liverpool drew 0-0 with Spartak Vladikavkaz (Russia). Liverpool won 2-1 on aggregate.

## Cubs lose no-hitter in 9th, blank Cards

CHICAGO (AP) — Frank Castillo came within one strike of pitching the first Chicago Cubs' no-hitter in 23 years, losing it on a two-out triple in the ninth inning by Bernard Gilkey in a 7-0 win Monday night over St. Louis.

Castillo, who struck out a career-high 13, fanned the first two batters in the ninth and then got ahead 0-2 on Gilkey. But on a 2-0 pitch, Gilkey hit a line drive to right-center field. Right fielder Sammy Sosa charged and dived, but the ball bounced several feet away and rolled for a triple.

Castillo (11-10) is the fifth pitcher to lose a no-hitter in the final inning this season. The 26-year-old right-hander pitched his second complete game in 28 starts.

Dodgers 4, Rockies 3  
Eric Karros hit a two-run homer in the bottom of the sixth inning to put the Dodgers alone in first place for the first time since September 5.

Los Angeles, which opened a half-game lead over Colorado in the NL West, has five games left. The Rockies have four.

MONDAY'S NL RESULTS:  
Montreal 5, Florida 0  
Chicago 7, St. Louis 0  
New York 2, Cincinnati 1 (5 a.m., rain)

Los Angeles 4, Colorado 3  
San Diego 7, San Francisco 4  
SUNDAY'S NL RESULTS:  
Atlanta 5, Montreal 4 (10)  
Florida 4, New York 3  
Cincinnati 6, Philadelphia 4  
Chicago 3, Pittsburgh 2 (10)  
Houston 1, St. Louis 0 (10)  
Colorado 3, San Francisco 1  
Los Angeles 6, San Diego 2

SATURDAY'S NL RESULTS:  
Chicago 8, Pittsburgh 5  
San Francisco 2, Colorado 0  
Florida 4, New York 3  
Montreal 5, Atlanta 2  
Cincinnati 7, St. Louis 3  
Philadelphia 3, Cincinnati 2 (13)  
Los Angeles 4, San Diego 2

MONDAY'S NL RESULTS:  
Detroit 7, Boston 4  
Minnesota 6, Chicago 1  
Only games scheduled  
SUNDAY'S NL RESULTS:  
Toronto 2, Boston 1  
Minnesota 4, Chicago 3  
Detroit 5, New York 3  
Milwaukee 5, Baltimore 1  
Kansas City 4, Cleveland 2  
California 5, Texas 0  
Seattle 9, Oakland 6

SATURDAY'S NL RESULTS:  
Boston 5, Toronto 0 (10)  
Toronto 5, Boston 6 (2nd)  
New York 5, Detroit 2 (1st)  
New York 3, Detroit 1 (2nd)  
Texas 5, California 1  
Cleveland 7, Kansas City 3  
Chicago 14, Minnesota 4  
Baltimore 9, Milwaukee 3  
Seattle 7, Oakland 0

ies have six left, including two more against the Dodgers last night and today.

Colorado shortstop Walt Weiss made three errors, including one right before Karros hit his 31st homer and another in the first that led to an unearned run.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

East Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	58	51	.533	—
Philadelphia	58	51	.533	—
Florida	54	54	.500	2 1/2
Montreal	54	54	.500	2 1/2
New York	64	75	.460	24

Central Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cincinnati	52	56	.481	—
Houston	52	56	.481	—
Chicago	50	58	.463	2
St. Louis	50	58	.463	2
Pittsburgh	50	58	.463	2

West Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Los Angeles	75	64	.540	—
Colorado	74	64	.536	1/2
San Diego	66	72	.479	8 1/2
San Francisco	65	73	.471	9 1/2

\*clinched division title

AMERICAN LEAGUE

East Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	52	56	.481	—
New York	74	65	.532	8 1/2
Baltimore	66	73	.475	16 1/2
Detroit	59	80	.424	25 1/2
Toronto	56	83	.403	28 1/2

Central Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	55	63	.468	—
Kansas City	58	58	.500	2 1/2
Chicago	64	74	.464	31
Milwaukee	64	74	.464	31
Minnesota	64	74	.464	31

West Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Seattle	75	64	.540	—
California	73	65	.529	2
Texas	70	68	.507	5
Oakland	67	71	.486	8

\*clinched division title

WILD CARD LEAGUE

AMERICAN LEAGUE

East Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	74	65	.532	—
California	73	65	.529	1/2
Texas	70	68	.507	3 1/2

GAMES REMAINING

NEW YORK (5) — Away (5); at Milwaukee, yesterday; today; at Toronto, Sept. 29-Oct. 1.

CALIFORNIA (5) — Home (4); Oakland, Sept. 28-Oct. 1; Away (2); at Seattle, yesterday; today.

TEXAS (6) — Home (6); Oakland, yesterday; today; Seattle, Sept. 28-Oct. 1.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

East Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Colorado	74	64	.536	—
Houston	73	65	.529	1

GAMES REMAINING

COLORADO (5) — Home (4); at San Francisco, Sept. 28-Oct. 1; Away (2); at Los Angeles, yesterday; today.

HOUSTON (6) — Home (2); Pittsburgh, yesterday; today; Away (4); at Chicago, Sept. 28-Oct. 1.

## Lions beat 49ers for 1st win

PONTIAC (AP) — The Detroit Lions, without entering Monday night's game, beat the Super Bowl champion San Francisco 49ers 27-24 when Doug Brien missed a 40-yard field goal as time expired.

In sending San Francisco to its first loss of the season, Jason Hanson kicked the winning 32-yard field goal with 1:12 remaining and the Lions prevailed, astoundingly, without a big game from Barry Sanders.

The Lions began the winning drive on their 26 with no timeouts left. Scott Mitchell hit Herman Moore for 12 yards, Brett Periman for 22 and Aubrey Matthews for 11. That moved the Lions to the 49ers' 16.

Mitchell's sneak on third-and-1 was short by inches. But instead of going for the field goal, with 2:46 remaining, coach Wayne Fontes signaled Mitchell to go for it again. This time he slid off right guard David Lutz for 2 yards.

The Lions (1-3) then ran Sanders into the line three times, each for no gain, and Hanson came on for the winner.

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Rams 34, Bears 28

Host St. Louis won its fourth in a row by remaining turnover-free for the fourth straight game, scoring on Toby Wright's 73-yard fumble return.

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

East

	W	L	T	Pct.	Pf	Pa
Miami	3	0	0	1.000	95	27
Buffalo	2	1	0	.667	58	45
Indianapolis	1	2	0	.333	62	68
New England	1	2	0	.333	23	62
N.Y. Jets	1	3	0	.250	88	105







# Parents held for alleged child abuse

## Infant suffers fractured skull

RAINE MARCUS

A BABY boy, allegedly beaten by his father, was being treated for a fractured skull and extensive injuries in Schneider Children's Medical Center in Petah Tikva yesterday.

The father, 22, of Petah Tikva, was arrested and is not cooperating with police. He told police his son, 1, fell out of his arms while he was playing with him.

The baby was brought by his parents to the hospital emergency ward on Rosh Hashana Eve. They said that their baby was restless and would not stop crying.

Doctors determined that the baby was suffering from extensive injuries. Hospital management then informed police, who arrested the father.

The baby's skull had been fractured and the retina of one of his eyes had been damaged.

Doctors also discovered that the baby's legs had been broken twice. The baby had been treated in the hospital for a broken leg around four months ago. But the other incident, said a hospital source, had not been reported, and the baby had not received treatment.

Police are convinced that the baby was beaten, and are still trying to determine what his mother knew about the alleged abuse. The father is expected to appear in Petah Tikva Magistrate's Court for a remand hearing this morning.

Last night, police said the baby's mother has also been arrested and will appear in court for a remand hearing tomorrow.



A couple performs the Tashlich ceremony Monday at the Tel Aviv seashore. Thousands of worshippers visited sources of water throughout the country on the first day of Rosh Hashana to perform the traditional casting off of sins ritual. (Ya'acov Shalel)

## Man held for trying to slice baby's neck

AMIR ROZENBLIT

A MAN who allegedly tried to cut his baby niece on the neck was remanded for 11 days and ordered to undergo a psychiatric examination by the Beersheba Magistrate's Court on Sunday.

The man, 28, was apparently on drugs when he took a utility knife and went toward his sister, who was holding her one-year-old girl. He then grabbed the baby's head and held the knife to her throat. People in the apartment then jumped on him and pulled away the baby, who suffered a cut ear.

The suspect's lawyer said his client did not remember anything about the alleged incident and asked the court to send him to a psychiatric hospital so he could recover. The lawyer asked to court to declare his client unfit for trial because of his mental state.

The court agreed to a psychiatric examination, but ordered him jailed.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Baby crawls off cliff, falls to death

Nine-month-old Iman Abu Sabih was killed yesterday when she crawled unnoticed from her parents' tent in the Beduin encampment of Aroer, near Dimona, and fell off a cliff onto a dry creek bed. The baby's mother had gone into the adjoining tent for a moment when the child disappeared, and an ensuing search by the entire family found her lying at the bottom of the cliff. Her father rushed her to Soroka Hospital in Beersheba, where doctors pronounced her dead from a blow to the head. Police are expected to seek a court order for an autopsy today, for a final determination of the cause of death.

litm

### Watchman falls from roof to his death

Ibrahim Mahajna, 45, from Umm el-Fahm, was killed yesterday afternoon when he slipped and fell from the roof of a six-story building he was guarding in Tel Aviv. Police said Mahajna had gone up to the roof to hose down a section of freshly poured cement when he slipped and fell onto the courtyard. The Ministry of Industry and Trade and the police are investigating.

litm

### British tourist dies dancing

A tourist from Britain, 25, was killed early yesterday morning when his head struck the dance floor of the discotheque at Tel Aviv's Eilat Hotel. Police have arrested a South African tourist, 35, on suspicion of unintentionally causing the death during a shoving match between them. Witnesses said the two, who were apparently drunk, collided while dancing and then began shoving one another, when the Briton fell and struck his head.

litm

### Cancer patient dies before US treatment

Nirit Goren of Omer lost her battle with cancer on Saturday, just days before she was to fly to Houston for an experimental procedure she hoped would save her life. Goren, in her twenties, had battled the spread of her bone cancer over the past three years, and recently fought for the opportunity to try the experimental treatment in the US. The Meuhedet health fund and later the Health Ministry had turned down her appeal for funding for the \$300,000 treatment.

litm

## Ram, Labor agree to fire 600 more Histadrut staff

THE Ram and Labor Histadrut factions have agreed in principle on the dismissal of 600 to 700 Histadrut workers beyond the 1,000 fired during the past year.

The final decision is due next Thursday, at a meeting of the representatives of the two factions and the labor councils in the office of Histadrut trade union section chairman MK Amir Peretz.

However, the factions are still in dispute about the timing of the dismissals. Ram insists on firing all the workers by the end of the year, before the Histadrut is due

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

to move to Jerusalem, while Labor wants to spread the dismissals over the next few months, until June or July next year.

The dismissals will halve the number of workers previously employed by the Histadrut, leaving 350 to 400 employees at Histadrut headquarters and about 1,000 in the labor councils throughout the country.

The Ram and Labor factions also agreed to set up joint teams to settle the pensioners union's financial complaints that the bud-

get it is getting is not in proportion to the number of its members.

The pensioners' union has joined Na'amat in its demand not to move to Jerusalem, and to remain based in Tel Aviv. All the large trade unions have also decided to continue operating offices in Tel Aviv, in order to maintain contact with members.

The two factions have also agreed to form Ram-Labor conditions in labor councils where this has not yet been done, including Afula, Hod Hasharon, Ofakim and Ashkelon.

## 3 brothers charged with rape

THREE Kiryat Gat brothers were indicted on Sunday in Beersheba District Court for abducting and raping a 16-year-old girl.

The district attorney's office told the court that the three suspects, Nikolai, 27, Haim, 21, and Meir Pinhasov, 24, stopped the girl on a street and asked her to get in their car. She refused and the three tried to force her in the car. She then asked them if she could first get some money from her house and ran to her house and didn't come back outside.

Five days later, the three and two others found her outside her school and asked her to join them. She said she realized they wanted to have sex with her and refused to get in the car. They said if she

didn't come with them they would rape her. The five men then forced her into the car and drove to a forest near Kiryat Gat.

According to the indictment, Nikolai Pinhasov was the first to rape her when they arrived at the forest, and the other four watched. Haim Pinhasov then sodomized her and the other four did the same.

The men brought her back to Kiryat Gat and threatened to kill her if she reported the incident. A medical examination after incident showed that she had suffered bodily injury from the rapes.

The prosecutor asked the court to remand the three until the end of trial, and the judge agreed. (litm)

## Fast of Gedalia observed today

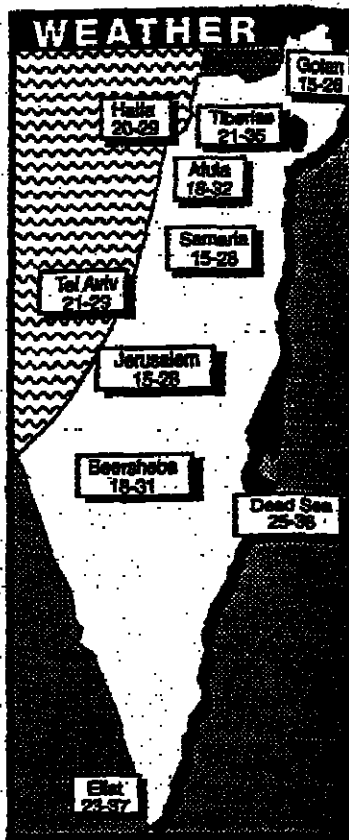
Jerusalem Post Staff

The day long Fast of Gedalia is observed today, the first of the Jewish calendar's four minor fast days.

The fast began this morning at 3:57, and will end this evening at 5:57.

The fast commemorates the 582 BCE assassination of Gedalia Ben-Ahikam, the governor of the small remnant of Jews that Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar - who destroyed Jerusalem and drove the Jews into exile - allowed to remain in Judea.

After Gedalia was assassinated, the remaining Jews in Judea either fled the country or were led to Babylonia in captivity. The fast of Gedalia was first commemorated by Babylonian Jews.



Forecast: Slight rise in temperatures

## AROUND THE WORLD

Location	Low	High
Amman	15-20	21-26
Beirut	16-21	22-27
Cairo	17-22	23-28
Damascus	16-21	22-27
Haiifa	18-23	24-29
Jerusalem	15-20	21-26
London	12-17	18-23
Los Angeles	16-21	22-27
Madrid	14-19	20-25
Moscow	8-13	14-19
New York	14-19	20-25
Paris	13-18	19-24
Rome	14-19	20-25
Tel Aviv	18-23	24-29
Tokyo	16-21	22-27
Washington	14-19	20-25
Zurich	13-18	19-24

## Winning cards

In Sunday's Mifal Hapais daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the eight of spades, eight of hearts, ace of diamonds and king of clubs.

## Wife and son shot in failed bid to prevent man's suicide

RAINE MARCUS

SONIA Resnick, 86, and her son Yohanan, 44, of Moshav Gm Sorok, were shot and wounded Monday while unsuccessfully trying to prevent their husband and father, Haim, 90, from committing suicide.

Both were reported in satisfactory condition in Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer. Sonia was wounded in the neck and Yohanan in the groin, both by the same bullet.

Police, who had received a call that there had been a shooting at the moshav and that a man and woman were wounded, discovered the body of Haim Resnick, his licensed pistol lying next to him. He had shot himself once in the head.

After questioning his family, police discovered that Resnick's first wife and daughter, had perished in the Holocaust. His sister, the last remaining survivor from his family, died a month ago.

Since then, his family told police, his mental condition had deteriorated. He would talk about the Holocaust all the time, fearing that he would take his own life. Yohanan hid his pistol. But Haim Resnick found it on Sunday and on the following day, his daughter-in-law told police, she heard noises outside the house. She saw Haim Resnick struggling with his wife who was trying to get the gun out of his hand. Yohanan went outside to see what was happening. Then one shot was heard, wounding both Sonia and Resnick.

Haim Resnick then took his own life.

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## Panel to weigh women's request to pray at Wall

A THREE-JUSTICE panel of the High Court of Justice will hear by October 5 a request by a group of women who want to pray at the Western Wall on Simchat Torah according to Reform Jewish tradition, Justice Zvi Tal decided on Sunday.

The group, led by Meretz Jerusalem city councilor Anat Hoffman, wants a temporary injunction requiring the Police Ministry to protect their right to pray at the wall according to their tradition and to ensure their safety at the site.

In May 1994, the government set up an interministerial directors-general committee to try to find a solution which would enable the group to hold Reform prayers at the wall, while "taking into account the sensibilities of other worshippers at the site."

The committee was formed after the group petitioned the High Court against the Religious Affairs Ministry and the official in charge of the Western Wall. It was to present its recommendations after six months; however, the government then gave the

committee a six-month extension. By this past May, it had still not submitted its report.

The group then petitioned the court demanding that the group immediately issue the recommendations. The court did not set a date for the hearing and the group argued that time was running out for them to pray at the wall over the holidays.

They claim their right to pray at the wall has been recognized by the court, and said this has only been delayed because of the committee. (litm)

## Israel to sell Switzerland electronics for drones

IN A deal said worth some \$280 million, Switzerland is to purchase 28 pilotless Daron spy planes, and Israel is to supply the electronics necessary to operate them.

The planes will be assembled in Switzerland, and their cost is some 40 percent of the total, according to a spokesman for the Swiss Defense Ministry.

The decision was controversial, as Switzerland recently sold the Netherlands 34 Darons for \$80

million, or six more drones at about a third of the cost of the latest deal.

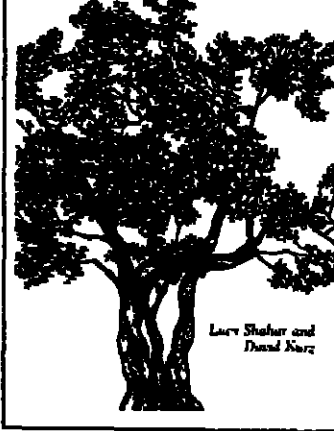
According to Swiss Finance Minister Casper Wiliger, the electronics involved are much more advanced than those sold to the Dutch.

"Every penny" of the difference is justified, he said, citing a report prepared by military experts.

The drones are to be supplied to the Swiss army between 1997 and 1999. (litm)

## Border Crossings

AMERICAN INTERACTIONS WITH ISRAELIS



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